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FBIS-SOV-89-070 — CONTENTS — 13 April 1989

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Pact Committee Urges Tactical Nuclear Arms Talks 1
  NATO 'Invited' to Talks *[Moscow International]* 1
  Communique Adopted *[cross-reference]* 1
Yazov Discusses Restructuring's Impact on Army *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 13 Apr]* 1
Modernization of NATO Nuclear Arms Criticized *[Bogachev on TASS]* 7
Arms Inspectors To Visit Florida, Alabama Sites *[TASS]* 8

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Pact Foreign Ministers Committee Concludes Meeting 9
  Adopts Documents *[TASS]* 9
  Issues Communique *[PRAVDA 13 Apr]* 9
  Calls for Tactical Nuclear Arms Talks *[PRAVDA 13 Apr]* 10
  Appeals for 'World Without Weapons' *[PRAVDA 13 Apr]* 12

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gerasimov on 11 Apr Syrian Attack on Soviet Ships *[TASS]* 13
Gerasimov Conducts News Briefing 12 Apr *[TASS]* 13
  Updates Situation in Afghanistan *[TASS]* 13
  Details Fighting Around Jalalabad *[Moscow Radio]* 14
Northern Fleet Commander on Submarine Accident *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Apr]* 14
Submarine Crewman Describes Shutting Down Reactor *[TASS]* 15

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States and Canada

Ambassador Matlock Visits Kirghizia 15-16 Mar *[SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 17 Mar]* 17
Chess Trainer Denies Holding Back Kamskiy *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 14]* 17
Vessel Sent To Clean Up Alaskan Oil Spill *[TASS]* 18

Northeast Asia

DPRK Foreign Minister Stops in Moscow 10 Apr *[PRAVDA 11 Apr]* 18
DPRK Envoy Cited on Visit by ROK Clergyman *[TASS]* 18
Effort To Restrict DPRK Contacts Criticized *[Tikhomirov in PRAVDA 9 Apr]* 18
Japan Adopts 'Forward-Based' Military Strategy *[TASS]* 19
Talks on Soviet-Japanese 'Peace Treaty' Viewed *[Mikhaylov on Moscow International]* 20
Japanese Views on USSR, Bilateral Ties Viewed *[Moscow International]* 21
Japan's KYODO Managing Director Interviewed 21
  Discusses Soviet Restructuring *[Moscow International]* 21
  Views Ties, N. Territories Issue *[Moscow International]* 22

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Observer on U.S. Attitude Toward Khmer Rouge *[Valentinov on Moscow International]* 23
'Terrorists' Attack U.S. Base in Philippines *[Moscow TV]* 23

Near East & South Asia

Syrian-Marked Helicopters Fire on Soviet Ships *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 13 Apr]* 23
Gorbachev Receives Indian Envoy, Gandhi Message *[TASS]* 24
Iraqi Minister of State Visits USSR 24
  Meets With Ryzhkov *[TASS]* 24
  Meets With Foreign Trade Minister *[Baghdad INA]* 24
Gerasimov Says USSR Ready for Saudi Ties *[Kuwait KUNA]* 24
Kabul Youths Send Message to Gorbachev *[TASS]* 25
Afghan Rebels Recruit in United Arab Emirates *[TASS]* 25

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamishin Notes 'Good' News on Namibia *[TASS]* 25
Latest Namibia Fighting, Resolution Viewed *[Krotov in PRAVDA 12 Apr]* 26
Official Predicates RSA Ties on Apartheid Ban *[TASS]* 26

East Europe

Decline in Hungarian Party Membership Outlined *[PRAVDA 12 Apr]* 27
Hungary's MSZMP Advocates Multiparty System *[PRAVDA 2 Apr]* 27
Reportage on Hungarian Liberation Anniversary 28
  3 Apr Moscow Events Reported *[PRAVDA 4 Apr]* 28
  Ambassador Gives Annivesary Address *[Moscow TV]* 28
  Soviet Leaders Greet Hungarian Leaders *[PRAVDA 4 Apr]* 29
  Yazov Greets Hungary's Karpati *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Apr]* 29
  Hungarian Leaders Greet Soviet Leaders *[PRAVDA 5 Apr]* 29
  USSR Ties, Political Situation Viewed *[PRAVDA 3 Apr]* 30
1919 Hungarian Soviets, Rakosi Regime Recalled *[PRAVDA 21 Mar]* 32
SED-CPSU Accord on Agricultural Management *[East Berlin ADN]* 32
Culture Minister, Romanian Envoy Attend Soiree *[PRAVDA 6 Apr]* 32
USSR Afghan Veterans Rehabilitated in Prague *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Mar]* 33
Bulgarian Research Ship Arrives in Odessa *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 4 Apr]* 33
Albanian Occupation Anniversary Noted *[IZVESTIYA 7 Apr]* 33

West Europe

Swiss Defense Chief Continues USSR Visit 34
  Meets With Lukyanov, Yazov *[TASS]* 34
  Discusses Disarmament With Petrovskiy *[TASS]* 34
  Views Yazov Talks, Visit to Airbase *[TASS]* 34
Karpov, Spanish Official Discuss Disarmament *[TASS]* 35
USSR-UK Summit Has 'Profound Effect' on Ties *[PRAVDA 8 Apr]* 35
French Defense Minister's Visit, Ties Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 April]* 36

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Uneasy Situation in Georgia 39
  Gorbachev Appeals to Georgians *[TASS]* 39
  Patiashvili Offers Resignation; 19 Dead *[Moscow International]* 39
  Gerasimov Gives News Briefing 12 Apr *[Moscow Radio]* 40
  Georgian Party Meets 12 Apr *[TASS]* 41
  Shevardnadze Leads Georgian Meeting *[Moscow Radio]* 41
  Servicemen Criticized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 12 Apr]* 41
  Rumors Hatching in Tbilisi *[AFP]* 42
  Tbilisi Military Commandant Comments *[TASS]* 43
  Correspondent Reports on Tbilisi Mood *[Moscow TV]* 43
  Georgians Still 'Deeply Shocked' *[IZVESTIYA 13 Apr]* 44
  Workers Rebuff Strike Calls *[PRAVDA 13 Apr]* 45

  - Situation 'Totally Under Control' *[AFP]* ... 45
  - Situation 'Complex' But 'Improving' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 13 Apr]* ... 46
  - Origins of Abkhaz Unrest Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 13 Apr]* ... 46
- Earthquake Registered in Tbilisi; No Casualties ... 47
- Burlatskiy Assesses Role of People's Deputies *[SOVETSKAY KULTURA 6 Apr]* ... 47
- Election's Lessons for Party Work Pointed Out *[PRAVDA 13 Apr]* ... 48
- Ukrainian Deputies Elections Results Published *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 30 Mar]* ... 50
  - More Ukrainian Results Reported *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 1 Apr]* ... 51
  - Ukrainian Results Report Continues *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 2 Apr]* ... 52
- General Novozhilov Supports Opponent in Elections *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Mar]* ... 53
- Yerevan 'Thugs' Arrested for Disturbing Elections *[Yerevan KOMMUNIST 28 Mar]* ... 54
- Party Official Views Lithuania's Elections *[SOVETSKAYA LITVA 30 Mar]* ... 54
- Resolution on Mandate to Trade Unions Deputies *[TRUD 25 Mar]* ... 57
- Council of Ministers Resolution on Food Supply *[PRAVDA 11 Apr]* ... 61
- Council of Ministers Resolution on Farm Management *[PRAVDA 12 Apr]* ... 70
- Development of Republic Relations, Rights Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* ... 76
- Lithuania's Brazauskas Interviewed on Nationalities *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 12]* ... 77
- Latvian Party Secretary on Nationalities Issue *[SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 2 Apr]* ... 80

Economic

- Measures To Combat Budget Deficit Discussed *[PRAVDA 9 Apr]* ... 83
- Trade Union Membership Regulations Outlined *[TRUD 4 Apr]* ... 84

Agricultural

- Editorial Outlines Grain Growing Tasks *[PRAVDA 12 Apr]* ... 86
- Agricultural Developments for 3-12 Apr Reported ... 87

Scientific

- 'Mir' To Be Left Unmanned Due to Module Delay *[TASS]* ... 88
- Success With Nuclear Fusion Reactions Noted ... 88
  - Room Temperature Reaction *[TASS]* ... 88
  - Low Temperature Reaction *[Moscow International]* ... 88
- Benefits of Space Program Technology Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Mar]* ... 89
- Openness Concerning Space Costs, Benefits Urged *[Moscow Radio]* ... 91

Military

- Officer Highlights Housing Problems of Veterans *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Apr]* ... 91

Pact Committee Urges Tactical Nuclear Arms Talks

NATO 'Invited' to Talks

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[Text] The Warsaw Treaty countries have invited NATO to start special talks in the near future to effect stage-by-stage reduction and the eventual elimination of tactical nuclear weapons. A call to that effect came from the Berlin session that concluded on Wednesday of the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers Committee. In advancing their initiative, the ministers proceeded from the conviction that no security or stability could be safeguarded for Europe and the threat of a sudden attack would persist until all tactical weapons were scrapped.

A special statement of the Warsaw Treaty Organization describes such weapons as highly destructive and capable of triggering off a global nuclear conflict. It says modernization or stockpiling of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe are incompatible with the current disarmament measures and called attention to the importance of the Soviet Union's resolve to refrain from modernizing its nuclear missiles.

Communique Adopted

For the text of the communique adopted by the Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization at its meeting in Berlin, see the "Communist Relations" section immediately following this section in today's Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Yazov Discusses Restructuring's Impact on Army

PM1204183089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister: "On the Basis of the New Thinking"]

[Text] Within the general framework of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, the restructuring of defense building and the Armed Forces is also developing and deepening. It covers a wide range of problems—from radically revising approaches to the safeguarding of national and universal security and bringing the combat potential of the Armed Forces within the bounds of reasonable sufficiency, to developing the most expedient forms of organization of the Army and Navy, their manning, and the training and education of personnel. These problems, like all the practical tasks of restructuring the Armed Forces, are being resolved on the ideological and methodological basis of the new political thinking.

The New Dialectics of Force and Security

The core of the new thinking is V.I. Lenin's idea on the paramountcy of common human interests and values, creatively developed by our Communist Party in relation to concrete present-day historical conditions. At the present, crucial stage in world development, this is a key idea in the resolution of the tasks of preserving peace and ensuring international security, and ultimately mankind's survival. Its realization presupposes first and foremost the resolute dismantling of the obsolete stereotypes and dogmas of ideological intolerance, suspicion, and enmity and the permanent renunciation of the traditional military force thinking.

Of course, this is no easy task. Since the age of slavery, military force has been the main "argument," and in some circumstances the only one, in the resolution of political, social, ethnic, religious, ideological, or other contradictions. It was this that was regarded for many thousands of years as the most effective means of seizing or redistributing markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres of influence and ensuring one's own security at the expense of other states and peoples.

The way out of the vicious circle into which mankind was driven by military force thinking was indicated for the first time in October 1917 by Lenin's Decree on Peace—the first legislative act of the first working people's state in history. However, the real opportunity that was opened up for jointly building international relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence was then rejected by imperialist reaction. Acting according to its customary, ossified pattern—from a position of strength—it resorted to direct military intervention. Defeat did not bring it to its senses, did not prompt it to revise its views on military force as the main instrument of policy. Once again material and ideological preparations were launched for another war. Influential circles in the West, whose political and material prosperity was closely linked to the implementation of militarist programs, did everything to hinder the creation of the Soviet Union's proposed system of collective security, please the aggressor, and encourage his claims. This resulted in new privations and sacrifices for mankind, without precedent in its history.

The consequences of the last world war could have been even worse had the way not been barred to fascism and militarism. A decisive contribution was made to the fulfillment of this task by the Soviet people and their Armed Forces. Our worldwide historical victory, the crushing defeat of the aggressors, and their unconditional condemnation in Nuremberg inspired in mankind the hope of final deliverance from the bloody times of war. But under pressure from the "cold war" unleashed by international reaction and the accelerated preparations for a "hot" war, this hope became ever more illusory every year. And although the Soviet Union, together with all the forces of socialism, peace, and progress, did not for one moment stop the struggle for the lessening of tension and the strengthening of international security, it did not prove possible to improve and stabilize the world political climate. Meanwhile, the arms race was approaching the critical point, pushing mankind to the brink of military confrontation.

In order to stop this course of events, it was necessary to destroy its age-old logic. Obviously this could only be done by finally putting an end to the inertia of military force thinking, which led into an impasse. Contemporary realities revealed the bankruptcy of this thinking and showed that the continuation of all-out confrontation could result in disaster for everyone. These same realities showed that in recent years an opportunity arose to close the last chapter of postwar history and step into a new, peaceful period—a period presupposing the formation of an international and legal order that rules out war, violence, intimidation, aggression, and expansion, ensures respect for freedom of choice, and is based on full equality for everyone.

But to this end it is necessary to stand on the firm footing of a **fundamentally new political thinking**, constructed according to the laws of the objective logic of world policy at the present crucial stage in social development. The main ideas and principles of this thinking were formulated by the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum. The 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference gave them concrete form and outlined ways of implementing them. The foundations and practical conclusions of the new political thinking were set forth in summarized form by M.S. Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly last December.

With regard to the problems of war and peace and defense building, the new political thinking proceeds on the basis that the emergence of **nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction** and the furnishing of these weapons to armies radically changed the situation and nullified all earlier ideas on the relationship between force and security. While acting as a material symbol and repository of absolute military might, nuclear weapons at the same time exposed the absolute limits, the irrationality of that might. Suffice it to say that the potential for destruction stockpiled in nuclear arsenals today is 6,000 times in excess of the total power of all the explosives used during World War II. Any attempt to use it is tantamount to the destruction of all life on earth. It follows that nuclear weapons cannot serve to ensure security.

This conclusion is also fully applicable to **modern nonnuclear weapons.** The massive utilization of such weapons in a so-called "conventional" war between major states or coalitions thereof would inevitably lead to a global catastrophe given the present level of urbanization, population density, and development of the nuclear power and chemical industries.

The new dialectics of force and security are also being demonstrated increasingly graphically in smaller-scale but real rather than hypothetical armed clashes of our time—**local wars and regional conflicts.** The use of weapons in these poses a direct threat of the involvement in military confrontation of many countries and peoples linked by a ramified system of treaties and agreements and of their evolution into a world-scale war. Thus every such conflict contains in its very embryo a danger to not only national but also universal security.

A number of fundamentally important conclusions stem from the new dialectics of force and security. First, **gambling on military force or the threat of its use cannot ensure reliable security.** Even in the strictly defensive context such a gamble is unproductive since the consequences of the use of modern weapons cannot be completely neutralized, and fear of retribution, the idea of which is embedded in the concepts of containment or deterrence accepted in the West, is in itself a catalyst of distrust, suspicion, and enmity in international relations—that is, it is essentially at variance with security. Second, **the buildup of military force does not strengthen, but undermines security.** The paradox of the arms race is precisely that it cannot be won. On the one hand, the use of even a small quantity of the weapons already in existence would be suicidal, while on the other continuing to improve them, stockpile them, and take them into space would inevitably transform mankind into the hostage of military technology and military-technocratic logic, a hostage doomed to destruction. And third and finally, **the self-contained [samodovleyushcheye] position of military force in the system for safeguarding security destabilizes it** because of the inevitable weakening of the other elements in the system—political, economic, diplomatic, cultural, and so forth.

The requirement to seek and make use of opportunities for countering the threat of war on a broader political basis than previously also stems from the new dialectics of force and security. The CPSU takes this into account in formulating and implementing policy in the field of the defense and security of our country. The consistent implementation of the party's line in this field reflects the USSR's determination to achieve a practical turnaround away from reliance on force and diktat toward a balance of interests, away from confrontation and military face-off toward the demilitarization of international relations and trust, away from the arms race and overarmament toward the reduction of weapon arsenals and reasonable sufficiency for defense.

Reasonable and Reliable Sufficiency

The switching from the theoretical field to the practical plane of the task of creating security not by building up but by reducing arms became possible thanks to the existence of approximate military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. We have published data on the military potentials of the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO which confirm such parity. You may recall that overall the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact Organization, taking strategic nuclear forces into account, total 5.3 million men, 10,500 aircraft, 4,200 combat helicopters, 80,000 tanks, and 160 large surface ships. NATO is superior to the Warsaw Pact Organization in terms of all these indicators except tanks. But nevertheless the overall military balance makes it possible to describe it as approximate parity allowing neither side to count on a decisive military advantage.

The achievement of this parity meant that the calculations of the forces of reaction and aggression, that they would be able to exact social revenge and "roll back socialism" with the help of weapons, were dashed. These calculations included not only the elaboration of scenarios for war against the USSR now known by their codenames—"Charioteer," "Dropshot," "Trojan," and others—but also the systematic creation of a corresponding material and technical base for aggression. In 1949 the North Atlantic bloc, currently marking its 40th anniversary, was organized. This jubilee can hardly be a matter of particular pride for the bloc participants—after all, the creation of NATO was an act of de facto division of Europe into two opposing groupings of states and a generator of confrontation. A network of more than 1,500 bases and facilities was deployed around the USSR and the other socialist states, housing over half a million servicemen and an enormous quantity of modern arms and equipment, including more than two-thirds of the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons.

The threat raised over our country and its allies was not ephemeral in nature. And its dimensions increased proportionally as the sense of impunity felt by those in a position of military superiority strengthened. The vital interests of our security and, in the final analysis, of universal security too required that this threat be countered by a real possibility of a counterstrike capable of inflicting unacceptable damage on the aggressor.

We resolved this task. It is another matter that sometimes in the past we adhered to a "mirror-image," purely quantitative approach in the struggle for parity. This enabled the West to drag us into an arms race. Analysis shows that in a number of instances our response to the other side's creation of a given new means of armed struggle might have been not necessarily symmetrical but nevertheless effective from the viewpoint of defense. In some areas balance could have been maintained both by applying fundamentally different scientific, technical, design, and production options and improving qualitative parameters and also by making more active and widespread use of political opportunities for safeguarding security.

Conclusions from the lessons of the past have become an organic part of the context of the new political thinking. Like, incidentally, the conclusions drawn from analyzing the possible prospects for talks which are already being conducted with the USSR's participation and also upcoming talks—first and foremost the talks on the reduction of armed forces and arms in Europe, on confidence-building measures, on the question of a 50-percent reduction in the Soviet and American arsenals of strategic offensive weapons, and on the elimination of chemical weapons—this is all taken into account when resolving the practical tasks of restructuring the Armed Forces.

Insofar as their level of **technical equipment** is concerned, this signifies the concentration of means and resources in those spheres of the development of arms that will ensure—with the minimal expenditure—the guaranteed fulfillment of defensive tasks. The necessary qualitative standard of this equipment, while strictly observing the principle of reasonable sufficiency, can be ensured with optimal proportions of new and old models, maximum unification and standardization, and careful safekeeping and faultless operation.

This is especially important in connection with the fact that in the next 2 years the volume of arms production will be reduced by almost one-fifth. This program has already begun to be implemented. The production of highly enriched uranium for military purposes will be discontinued [prekrashcheno] in the current year. In the course of the period 1989-1990, in addition to the industrial reactor for the production of weapons-grade plutonium closed down in 1987, a further two such reactors will be closed without the commissioning of new capacities to replace them. Provision is made for systematic conversion to civilian output—from a level of 40 percent of the total volume of the defense industry complex' production in the current year to 60 percent in 1995. Many plants and design bureaus of the defense industry and related scientific bodies are involved in the production of consumer goods and of machinery and equipment for the agrarian sector and for the light and food industry. A substantial proportion of military transport aviation is being transferred to the handling of national economic freight traffic. All these are weighty, major practical steps along the road of implementing the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

The political and military-technical parameters of this principle are focused in sharpest relief in **Soviet military doctrine**. Purely defensive in nature, it is subordinated to the task of preventing war and it proceeds from the necessity for a radical lowering of the level of military confrontation, the ending of the arms race, and the implementation of measures of real disarmament. The key provisions of our doctrine consist in the fact that the USSR will never, under any circumstances, be the first to start hostilities, will never make first use of nuclear weapons, has no territorial claims against anyone, and regards no state as its enemy. Naturally, the doctrine makes provision for questions connected with what kind of aggression our Armed Forces must be trained to repulse, and in what kind of composition and condition they must be maintained in order to successfully discharge under any circumstances the defensive tasks with which they are entrusted and to reliably ensure the security of the USSR and its allies.

The most important practical step in the implementation of the doctrinal precepts is the decision on **large-scale unilateral reductions of the Armed Forces**. As a result of the implementation of this cutback the total numerical strength of our Armed Forces will have declined by the end of 1990 from 4,258,000 to something in the region of 3,760,000 men. The stationing of our troops and the structure of large combined arms units are being transformed in a defensive spirit. Soviet military science is being restructured accordingly, the theory of the art of war and military training syllabuses are being revised, and the practice of the training and education of personnel and the organization and conduct of party-political work are being brought into line with modern requirements.

All this constitutes the material fabric of the process of transition to the new political thinking, to the implementation of the principle of reasonable sufficiency in defensive organizational development, the daily life and activity of command and political cadres, and of the entire personnel of the Army and Navy. It is perfectly natural that the fundamental condition for the successful development of this process is the **restructuring of the awareness of officers and soldiers, and their clear and lucid realization of the need for new approaches to the solution of the tasks of training troops and combat readiness**, and the shifting of the center of gravity of all efforts toward the intensification of military labor and toward qualitative indicators of combat instruction and service.

This necessity stems from the fact that guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive processes which have begun under the impact of the new political thinking which is doggedly blazing a trail for itself in the international arena have not yet taken shape. Any illusions are impermissible on this score. One cannot fail to perceive what stubborn resistance is being offered by certain circles in the West to the process of arms limitation and disarmament.

The West's gigantic **propaganda machine** is operating at full speed. By using a selective approach, by hushing up some facts and making much of others, it is trying to convince the public of a lack of parity, of our allegedly overwhelming "superiority," and to revive fears of the "Soviet military threat." The mendacious, speculative nature of such attempts is borne out by the indicators of the balance of forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which we have already mentioned above. For comparison one might also cite the data on the total numerical strength of the U.S. Armed Forces. Taking into account the National Guard—in the USSR similar such components form part of the Armed Forces—they number more than 3 million. Moreover, the numerical strength of the U.S. Navy is 2.5 times greater than that of the Soviet Navy.

Lurking behind the coordinated propaganda campaign is the desire of reactionary circles to secure the unilateral disarmament of the USSR and Warsaw Pact and to obtain a decisive military superiority over them. It is no accident that to the accompaniment of peace-loving declarations in the United States and NATO the implementation of large-scale militaristic programs continues. Demands are being advanced for steps to be taken to "compensate" for the missiles eliminated in accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by bringing new nuclear arms into Europe and moving them up to Europe, and by modernizing the remaining nuclear and other arms.

The traditional methods of applying military force thinking are being complemented by new ones. The Pentagon has, for instance, elaborated the concept of "strategies of competition," whose purpose is to draw the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries again into military rivalry with the West. They are banking on the latest technologies, by means of which they are proposing to devalue the weapon systems and military hardware at our disposal, forcing us to switch resources from socioeconomic programs to the development of new weapons. And since the authors of the concept deliberately imply that we lag in the sphere of technology, these weapons, so they calculate, will ultimately prove ineffective, thus securing them "a maximum strategic edge" over the USSR.

Nor is it possible to discount the patently obvious fact that at present the building and training of the U.S. and NATO armed forces, whose leadership cites the USSR and the Warsaw Pact as their main likely opponent, continues to be implemented in accordance with the principles of the doctrines of "direct confrontation" and "flexible response." And these doctrines, as is well-known, are by no means defensive in nature. Methods of the conduct of combat operations in accordance with the concepts of "air-land battle" and "follow-on forces attack," which also have little in common with defense, are being rehearsed. Despite political declarations about the impermissibility and futility of nuclear war, NATO refuses to this day to pledge that it will not be the first to unleash a nuclear war, nor has it renounced the idea of delivering a first nuclear strike or given up plans to use nuclear weapons should a critical situation arise in the course of a "conventional" war.

These are the present-day political realities. It would be unforgivable complacency to ignore the negative phenomena which counter the positive tendencies engendered by the new political thinking and pose a threat to peace and peoples' security. Naturally, we must take the existence of this threat into account. In restructuring our armed forces we must ensure high vigilance and the necessary combat readiness of troops and naval forces and do everything, as M.S. Gorbachev put it in his speech from the UN rostrum, "to maintain the country's defense capability at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency to ensure that no one is tempted to encroach on the security of the USSR and its allies."

Exclusively for Defense

Implementation of the switch from the principle of superarmament to the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense and implementation of the demands of the defensive doctrine in the theory and practice of defense building concern, in addition to the material and technical base and the system of training and combat readiness of the Army and the Navy, also the forms of their organization and methods of manning; all this lends natural topicality to the question: What should the Armed Forces be like in modern conditions, what composition of Armed Forces should our state and our people have?

The mass media are paying considerable attention to this question at the moment. This seems entirely natural. Our Armed Forces are an inalienable part of society, sharing its life and its interests. Soviet people show constant concern for the Army and the Navy, providing them with everything they need to successfully discharge their patriotic and international duty. The processes of democratization and glasnost are developing in the Armed Forces just like in society as a whole, helping to increase personnel's political and professional activeness; eliminate shortcomings in combat training, service, and military discipline; and eradicate phenomena alien to the nature and spirit of our Army.

However, it would be incorrect to ignore opinions which strike a sharply discordant note in the general torrent of information pertaining to the Armed Forces which pours out from the news media, such as items about dismantling the Armed Forces in view of "the absence of a military threat," or about reducing them by 50 percent and cutting the length of military service to 1 year. A pacifism which is totally divorced from reality is being preached, and under its banner so-called "ideas" about the inessentiality of military service and the "revocation" of the duty to defend one's motherland, and so on and so forth are being pushed. In my view such statements are made purely for superficial effect and are based on a desire to stun readers or listeners with "bold" opinions and irrepressible reforming zeal. What is striking is not just the incompetence but also the glibness with which the authors of these "innovations" approach key questions of state importance and the safeguarding of the country's security.

It must be emphasized that, in contrast to this, the overwhelming majority of statements regarding problems of building the Armed Forces are imbued with concern for the optimum solution of these problems. Most frequently the subject of discussion is the expediency of switching from the current system of manning the Armed Forces in our country to a militia system or a professional [nayemnaya] system, or a combination of the two. As a rule the suggestions boil down to a jumble of systems that have already been used in the past but did not withstand the test of time, or systems currently being used in the West. However, any changes, and especially radical changes, in this sphere must be consonant with the specific military-political situation, the level of the actual military threat, the country's socioeconomic and scientific and technical potential and resources, and the needs of guaranteeing its security. Only this angle can produce a true picture of the suitability of a particular form of organization and manning in Armed Forces building.

It is well-known that the organization of an army according to the militia system presupposes that all the state's citizens with a military service obligation and trained in military matters are members of it. In this case manning is carried out according to the territorial principle and troop formations are stationed at the centers where the draftees live and work. They are trained at periodic, short training camps. V.I. Lenin had all this in mind when he linked the resolution of the task of defending the socialist revolution with the general arming of the people—with the creation of a people's militia. However, analyzing the development of events after the victory of Great October and the specific conditions in which the Soviet state was being formed, he reached the conclusion that this plan was unrealistic and unacceptable since it was unable to ensure the defense of the revolution, and he put forward the idea of creating a cadre, regular Worker-Peasant Red Army—an army of a new, socialist type.

Such an army was created by the Bolshevik Party and by the working people's revolutionary creativity. Time, including the extremely grave trials of the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, cogently confirmed its viability and incontestable advantages over both the militia and the professional systems in the political, economic, and purely military respects.

From the political viewpoint the system of building a cadre regular army on the basis of universal military service is the most democratic system and accords with the principles of social justice. Military labor in conditions of a socialist state is full of tremendous social significance. It is vitally necessary since, in K. Marx' words, it "produces defense"—defense of the interests, freedom, and independence of the entire people. One of the most important gains of the revolution is precisely the fact that military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces became for every citizen of the Soviet state a matter of honor and conscience and an honorable duty, and defense of the united, socialist homeland, common to all nations and nationalities, became a lofty and truly sacred duty. The selfless fulfillment of this duty, this obligation by millions of Soviet people gave rise to a qualitatively new, unprecedented, indeed, formerly impossible historical phenomenon—mass heroism by servicemen—and was one of the decisive factors in the victories of the Soviet state and its Armed Forces in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars.

The organization of an army on the basis of universal military service obligation presupposes the implementation of the exterritorial principle in making up formations and units. This is most in line with the requirements of the defense of a huge country such as ours, with its varying population densities, the differing strategic military significance of particular salients and regions, and its multinational population. It is perfectly obvious that these reguirements cannot be met by organizing the building of the Army according to the territorial principle of manning under a militia system whereby persons with a military service obligation serve wherever they live and work. Moreover, the implementation of this principle creates objective preconditions for manifestations of parochialism and group egoism and for counterposing narrowly conceived national interests to statewide, international interests.

Nor is the system of manning the Army based on the principles of hiring volunteers for military service politically capable of reliably ensuring real defense needs. In this case readiness to serve is made directly dependent on the size of the pay, moral incentives to military labor are inevitably squeezed out by material incentives, and the lofty concepts of military, patriotic, and international duty are devalued. The collectivism and comradeship that are the strength of a socialist army are replaced by a corporate spirit and a basis is created for cultivating egoism and individualism. As the history of warfare shows, this is by no means conducive to strengthening the moral and political state of personnel, especially in the extreme conditions of combat operations.

Moreover, the social base of a professional army is narrowed, it loses touch with the life of the people, and becomes a kind of caste with its own specific interests, sociopolitical guidelines, and moral values. Of course, in a capitalist and generally antagonistic society this is in the interests of the ruling classes, for whom the army is an instrument for defending their interests, which are opposed to those of the working people. But in a socialist society this would fundamentally contradict society's very nature and the political purpose and tasks of its military organization.

From the **economic** viewpoint the system of making up a regular cadre army via a universal military service obligation ensures the most economical, rational utilization of society's resources allocated for defense needs. The militia system, which was formerly rightly regarded as imposing the smallest burden on a country's economy, has to a considerable extent lost this advantage in conditions of the implementation of the latest achievements of scientific and technical progress in military matters and of the equipping of the army largely with collective types of weapons. The point is that to master modern arms and combat equipment and learn the methods and means of conducting combined-arms combat when personnel are trained and retrained outside the barracks environment requires a ramified network of special training centers with an appropriate material and technical base for training and highly skilled specialists. It is impossible to create such a network without additional financial and material expenditure.

It must also be borne in mind that the mass diversion of urban and rural working people for military training at their place of residence is bound to affect the economic indicators of labor collectives' work, especially in conditions of economic accountabiity, self-financing, and the lease and team contracts. The maintenance of militia formations presupposes an additional item of expenditure in local budgets. And it is no secret that even without that item the budgets of our union republics are currently running a very appreciable deficit.

A professional army is a still heavier burden on the economy. It requires at least several times more expenditure on paying personnel alone than an army manned on the basis of a universal military service obligation. After all, all posts in a professional army are held by people who, regardless of category—whether they are soldiers or officers—must receive a wage not simply comparable with the remuneration of corresponding categories of personnel in other spheres of activity but substantially exceeding the average levels of that remuneration. This is natural, if you bear in mind the considerable social limitations, everyday difficulties and privations, burdens, and dangers associated with military service.

Sometimes one encounters arguments that a professional army can be considerably smaller in size than an army based on a universal military service obligation because of the servicemen's higher level of professional training. As a result of this, it is claimed, the expenditure on paying personnel can be decreased. This is a delusion. In contemporary conditions the size of an army is determined primarily not by the method of manning but by the prevailing military-political situation, the nature and scope of the tasks facing the armed forces, their level of technical equipment, and the demands regarding the combat readiness and combat capability of troops.

From the **purely military** viewpoint the manning of the army on the basis of a universal military service obligation provides over the 2-3 years of active service an adequate level of mastery of modern weapons and combat equipment in most mass military trades. Moreover, in this case the necessary degree of combat coordination between military collectives and the field, flying, and maritime skill, organization, and discipline on the part of personnel without which it is impossible to count on success in modern combined-arms combat are attained.

Analysis of combat experience and everyday practice shows that, in terms of the level of professionalism, that most important qualitative indicator of the training of armed forces, a cadre army manned on the basis of a universal military service obligation is not inferior to a professional army and in terms of a number of parameters is actually superior to it. Another fundamentally important point is that the quantity and quality of mobilization resources needed in order to conform to the level of development of military equipment and military matters as a whole are ensured in this case. As for a professional army, it is probably enough to recall V.I. Lenin's remark back at the beginning of the century that "the times when wars were waged by mercenaries or representatives of a caste half torn away from the people have vanished into oblivion, never to return." In contemporary conditions a professional army, because of the limited size of the reserves trained under such a system of manning, is incapable of waging protracted military operations, especially in defense of territories extending over a considerable area. In other words, it is incapable of ensuring the guaranteed resolution of the tasks of repelling aggression and the reliable defense of the country.

Clearly, no special knowledge is required to see that the militia system objectively does not make it possible to master modern weapons at short periodic training camps, still less to achieve the necessary combat cohesion of personnel and the necessary level of discipline—that is, everything that turns the subunit, unit, or ship into a combat-capable organism. It must also be taken into account that territorial units must, in accordance with the principle of their manning, be stationed not where the situation requires but where the military reservists live and work. Therefore, they will not be able to become familiar with the theater of military operations. And their combat readiness will not accord with modern requirements, with the real conditions whereby the time factor has acquired an almost decisive role and combat operations require the greatest efficiency and irreproachable interaction of all components of the complex army organism.

We have at our disposal experience of restructuring the Armed Forces which may still only be initial experience but is already indicative in many respects. Not everything in it is unambiguous. There are many difficulties and problems and not all the elements of the braking mechanism have been eliminated. But the positive results achieved, which are growing from day to day, testify that restructuring in the Army and Navy is gathering speed. And its results are most tangible and stable where the new approaches in resolving current tasks are combined with the critical reinterpretation and creative application of our experience spanning more than 70 years, which is in many respects unique.

The need to steadily deepen restructuring and consistently improve the Armed Forces' qualitative characteristics is unquestionable. But it is equally unquestionable that an essential condition for the successful solution of this task is **the assimilation by our military cadres of the ideas of the new political thinking and the conversion of those ideas into firm convictions and purposeful practical actions.**

Restructuring, in renewing all aspects of the life and activity of the Army and Navy, is increasingly fully revealing their moral and political potential as a socialist military organization. Developing in accordance with the defensive doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency and gaining a new quality, our Armed Forces must become a combat organism which is increasingly flexible, coordinated, and mobile; is equipped with the latest science and technology; possesses a firm unity of views, will, and actions; relies on the comprehensive support of the people; and derives spiritual strength from deep within them. This is the guarantee of the worthy fulfillment by the Army and Navy of the sacred duty entrusted to them of reliably ensuring the security and defense of the country and the protection of the Soviet people's creative work and peace on earth.

Modernization of NATO Nuclear Arms Criticized

LD1204202389 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

On the eve of the May session of the Council of the North Atlantic alliance at the level of heads of state and government, who are, it is asserted, to work out a single strategy of the alliance for the 1990s and the 21st century, the positions of the participating countries in NATO are set on a polarisation course on the matter of modernising the small range nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

According to Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, his government favours holding talks on tactical nuclear weapons and considers that the decision to modernise these weapons ought not to be taken before 1991-1992. On the other hand, Valerio Zanone, defence minister of Italy, was generally in favour of replacing NATO's small-range missiles with new nuclear means, while the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher reaffirmed in Parliament her commitment to the idea of an immediate deployment in Western Europe of the new U.S. nuclear systems to replace the present "Lance" missiles.

The heat of the polemic is rising inside NATO on the problem of working out the alliance's new strategy in response to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries. The British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday accused some of Britain's NATO allies (probably the Federal Republic of Germany in the first place) of striving to conclude arms control agreements with the USSR "regardless of whether these agreements would increase their security or not". Politicians from some of the Western countries are expressing their disquiet over the fact that so far

NATO has failed to adjust itself to the new situtiom that has taken shape in Europe as a result of the Soviet peace offensive. Many observers stress that the Soviet peace initiatives "have spotlighted the political weakness of NATO".

Recently a group of prominent U.S. politicians and scientists in a statement on NATO's fortieth anniversary, noted that highly influential forces within the alliance are not loath to taking advantage of the Soviet Union being occupied by solving its internal political problems and to utilising military levers to gain political and other advantages. Is this not the explanation for NATO's slow response to the changing situation in the world?

Reports have appeared in the press to the effect that Western experts are completing elaboration of the alliance's "global concept" to be presented to the session of the NATO Council in Brussels. NATO is making an attempt to switch over from the "cold war" concept to a dynamic policy of "open peace", reports the Italian ANSA News Agency. Such a switch over can only be welcomed.

One is surprised, however, by the fact that the Atlanticists include within NATO's practical measures "on the establishment of a warm international climate" in the first place the modernisation of the U.S. nuclear weapons and the refusal of the North Atlantic alliance to engage in talks on the complete destruction of the small-range nuclear means.

Arms Inspectors To Visit Florida, Alabama Sites

LD1204190789 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Washington April 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

Two groups of Soviet inspectors, who arrived in the USA on Tuesday [11 April], today begin verifying the American side's compliance with the conditions of the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The groups are conducting two quota inspections on short notice. Each side has the right to hold 20 such inspections annually during the first three years of the treaty's operation. Under the treaty provisions, the specific objects for inspection must be declared by the verifying side four to eight hours after the inspector team has arrived in the country.

The first Soviet team of ten experts, including Vladimir Medvedev, head of the National Center for Reduction of Nuclear Threat, will inspect Complex-16 at Cape Canaveral (Florida) where the now defunct "Pershing-2" testing range is located. The second team, also manned by ten experts, will inspect the "Redstone" Arsenal in Huntsville (Alabama)—"Pershing-2" storage and repair area. Soviet specialists will fly from Washington to the facilities subject to inspection at 11:00 and 12:00 hours local time. The time count of the 24-hour-long inspections begins upon the teams' arrival on location.

Pact Foreign Ministers Committee Concludes Meeting

Adopts Documents

LD1204155489 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Berlin April 12 TASS—The Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Treaty ended a meeting here today after adopting a communique, a statement on tactical nuclear arms in Europe and an address "for a world without wars".

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of friendship, mutual understanding and comradely cooperation.

Issues Communique

PM1304090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

["Communique of Warsaw Pact States Foreign Ministers' Session"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The Foreign Ministers Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance held a regular meeting in Berlin on April 11-12, 1989.

The meeting was attended by the foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Petur Mladenov; the foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, Peter Varkonyi; the foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, Oskar Fischer; the foreign minister of the Polish People's Republic, Tadeusz Olechowski; the foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Ioan Totu; the first deputy foreign minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh; and the foreign minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Jaromir Johanes.

The ministers were satisfied to note progress in strengthening peace and disarmament, which offers favorable opportunities for broadening cooperation among states and peoples.

They stated at the same time that the world situation remains complicated and contradictory. The Warsaw Treaty member states are fully resolved to continue a policy of fundamentally improving the situation in Europe and the world and expect other states to show the required constructive attitudes and realism.

The meeting called for furthering political dialogue on key issues of world development based on a comprehensive approach to enhancing international peace and security in keeping with the charter of the United Nations, with the role and effectiveness of this world organization being constantly on the increase.

The participants in the meeting came out for stepping up efforts to carry on the disarmament process. They reiterated the position of their states on the need to substantially reduce armed forces and conventional arms along with effecting corresponding cuts in military spending.

As European affairs were discussed, the attending ministers exchanged opinions on the results of the Vienna follow-up meeting and pointed out that its final document contains understandings whose realization will facilitate stronger peace and security in Europe, better mutual understanding and closer cooperation in the continent.

It is essential for all states participating in the conference on security and cooperation in Europe to fulfill the understandings unilaterally, in bilateral and multilateral relations on the basis of extensive mutually advantageous cooperation in political, military, economic, scientific, technological, environmental, cultural and humanitarian fields and in the sphere of the human dimension with respect for equality, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and other principles and objectives of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other universally recognized norms of international relations.

The participants in the meeting expressed the determination of their states to act in this direction.

The ministers hailed the start of talks on conventional armed forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe and stressed the firm will of their countries to pursue a constructive line at these negotiations and press for specific results within a short time.

Unilateral steps taken by allied states to cut their armed forces, armaments, and military budgets have been a graphic manifestation of this will.

The Warsaw Treaty member states urge the NATO member states and all European nations to take specific steps that will help scale down military confrontation in Europe.

They also call on them to refrain from any action capable of undermining anything positive that has already been achieved in improving the international situation and of complicating the talks started in Vienna.

It is becoming ever more obvious today that it is imperative for the Warsaw Treaty and NATO to form relations on a truly non-confrontational basis and for corresponding conditions to be created with a view to simultaneously dissolving both alliances, starting with their military wings.

The ministers voiced the hope that these considerations will find understanding and support.

Noting the importance of precisely fulfilling the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the ministers pointed out the inadmissibility of any "compensatory" measures, including those taken under the pretext of modernizing tactical nuclear arms.

A separate statement was adopted on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

It was stressed at the meeting that an early treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50-per cent reduction in their strategic offensive arms in the context of compliance with the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, remains a top priority and will be a major contribution to creating a nuclear-free world.

It was emphasised at the same time that it is essential to make efforts towards eliminating nuclear, chemical, and other types of weapons of mass destruction altogether.

The ministers stated that multilateral, bilateral, and unilateral measures to reduce armed forces and armaments put the problem of converting military production to civilian needs on the order of the day.

It is a complex and many-sided problem the effective resolution of which requires both national and joint efforts. An important role in this respect can by played by the United Nations.

In the interest of further increasing openness in the military field, the meeting called for continued efforts to work out criteria for comparing military budgets with the use of standardizing international accounts of military spending, which are accepted at the United Nations.

The meeting made a point of noting that strict respect for the existing territorial-political realities, the inviolability of the existing borders, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and the universally recognised principles and norms of interstate relations is the principle condition of a stable world order in Europe and a guarantee of developing and consolidating the CSCE process.

The improving political climate and growing interdependence in the present world are creating favorable prerequisites for activating economic contacts between states with different socio-political systems, which is an essential factor for developing the CSCE process on a balanced basis.

The meeting pointed out the need for expanding trade; promoting cooperative arrangements in production, science, and technology; and ensuring access to modern technology, along with lifting restrictions and discriminatory impediments of any kind.

As they compared notes on regional conflicts, including those in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Central America, the ministers reaffirmed the resolve of their states to actively assist their political resolution with account taken of the rightful interests of the sides and with respect for the right of every people to decide their destiny themselves.

The ministers expressed themselves in favor of an independent, nonaligned, and democratic Afghanistan and for ensuring its free development on the basis of a policy of national reconciliation without any outside interference.

They stressed the need of further efforts to settle the Afghan problem.

The meeting noted with contentment progress achieved in peacefully defusing conflicts in some regions and UN efforts in this field.

A separate address, "for a world without wars," was adopted.

The meeting expressed a firm intention to develop and deepen all-round cooperation among the allied socialist states.

The meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee was held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely mutual understanding.

The next meeting is to take place in Warsaw.

Calls for Tactical Nuclear Arms Talks

PM1304092589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

["Warsaw Pact States' Statement on Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] I

The Warsaw Treaty member states express their determination to do everything in their power to secure progress at talks that have started on conventional armed forces in Europe.

Undoubtedly, positive results at these talks and radical cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments, especially in the more destabilizing types of these weapons, will markedly reduce the mutual threat of surprise attack and large-scale offensive operations.

The allied socialist states are convinced that it is impossible to ensure stability and security in Europe and finally remove the risk of surprise attack while retaining in Europe tactical nuclear weapons possessing tremendous destructive potential and capable of triggering off an all-out nuclear conflict with all its attendant consequences.

If nuclear weapons are used in Europe, the continent will be reduced to a radioactive desert. Preserving and modernizing, let alone building up, tactical nuclear arms would have ever more destabilizing effects on the strategic military situation in Europe and be incompatible with efforts to solve disarmament problems in the continent.

In this connection the Warsaw Treaty member states suggest to the member states of the North Atlantic alliance opening separate talks on tactical nuclear arms in Europe, including the nuclear components of dual-purpose systems, in the near future.

They are positive that practical measures in the field of reducing both conventional weapons and tactical nuclear arms would mutually supplement and support one another in the process of lowering the level of military confrontation between the two alliances.

The Warsaw Treaty member states are convinced that along with the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the phased reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear arms in Europe would help reduce the risk of outbreak of war, strengthen trust, and create a more stable situation in the continent.

The accomplishment of this task would also assist progress towards deep cuts in strategic nuclear arms and, in the longer term, to the complete elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere.

II

Preparations for the proposed talks, their mandate, and the make-up of their participants could be discussed at special consultations which the allied socialist states suggest open immediately.

These consultations could involve the nuclear powers of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty as well as all other interested member states of these alliances, in particular both those possessing tactical systems capable of carrying nuclear munitions and those having tactical nuclear arms deployed in their territories.

It could be possible from the very beginning to come to terms on the reduction of tactical nuclear arms and their phased elimination.

The talks would discuss measures of effective international monitoring to verify the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear arms, as well as a package of confidence- and security-building measures as applied to these systems and military activities involving them.

The possibility of forming an international verification commission with corresponding powers could also be discussed.

The Warsaw Treaty member states take the view that mutual renunciation of the modernization of tactical nuclear arms by both sides would be instrumental in creating a favorable political situation for these talks and strengthening trust.

The sides would not modernize, for example, ground-based tactical missiles, Air Force missiles and artillery, which are capable of using nuclear munitions, as well as the nuclear components of these systems. Nor would the number of these systems be increased.

In this context the Warsaw Treaty member states point out the significance of the Soviet Union's declaration that it is not modernizing its tactical nuclear missiles.

The goal of reducing and eliminating tactical nuclear arms could be served by other mutual measures of a multilateral and unilateral nature as well.

III

The Warsaw Treaty member states note the formidable threat posed to stability in Europe by the high concentration of tactical nuclear weapons here, especially in Central Europe, as well as on the southern flank of the line of contact between the two alliances.

They believe that a significant reduction in Soviet forces in central Europe, including the Soviet Union's withdrawal of six tank divisions from there and their disbandment; sizable cuts in weapons and combat equipment, including tactical nuclear arms; and other unilateral steps taken by Warsaw Treaty member states to scale down their armed forces and armaments are creating favorable conditions in the continent for realizing proposals for a zone of lowered arms levels and increased confidence levels and for nuclear-free zones in central Europe, the Balkans, and other parts of the continent with the removal of all nuclear systems from them.

A regime created in these zones would provide for mutual verification, including on-site inspections, and corresponding guarantees of the nuclear states.

IV

The Warsaw Treaty member states are prepared to consider any other possible proposals and measures towards the reduction and elimination of tactical nuclear arms in Europe and towards greater stability in the continent at an ever lower level of military potentials, with respect for the principles of equality and equal security and with effective international verification of the agreements.

Appeals for 'World Without Weapons'

PM1304093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

["Appeal Adopted by Foreign Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact States"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Treaty member states who gathered in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, prior to the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War deem it necessary to state the following:

Half a century ago, Nazi Germany, attacking Poland, precipitated the most tragic conflict in the history of humanity. The war was caused by the aggressive, revanchist policy of annexation, division of the world, and world supremacy pursued by imperialism's most reactionary circles. It showed the dangerous consequences of the Munich policy of concessions. Tens of millions of people perished as a result of the war. Land was stained with the blood of fallen soldiers and people tortured to death. The victory over fascism was won as a result of huge efforts by peoples and states united in the great anti-Hitler coalition, as well as by anti-fascist resistance movements.

September 1939, other tragic events of the Second World War should be remembered not in order to reopen the wounds again and again. The memory of the biggest tragedy in the history of humanity should prompt peoples to tireless efforts to ensure the right to a peaceful life by every person on earth.

The lessons of the war confirm the truth that no task is of greater importance for humanity than that of ensuring peace. All the aspirations and actions of people must be subjugated to this. The present and future of the European peoples, their security, are linked inseparably with safeguarding peace in Europe.

Strict observance by all states of the existing territorial and political realities, of all the principles and goals of the United Nations Charter, of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and other generally recognized norms of international relations is the main condition for preserving a durable, stable, peaceful arrangement in Europe.

Of special importance are the reduction and complete elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, radical reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, ensurance of all-embracing security, and strengthening mutually-advantageous cooperation among states to resolve burning problems faced by all European peoples.

The results achieved on this road, including the opening of the talks on conventional armed forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe must urge people to further efforts to ensure durable peace. The experience of the anti-Hitler coalition indicates that a broad front of cooperation for the sake of Europe's peaceful development is now possible.

The ministers of foreign affairs emphasized the need for decisively rebuffing any manifestations of revanchism, chauvinism, and nationalism, any forms of enmity among nations, and attempts to question the territorial integrity of states.

They note with special concern the growing spread of neofascism in a number of European countries. Regardless of where such events take place and what form they assume, they pose a threat to peace and international security. Staying on German soil, the foreign ministers emphasize the historic responsibility of both German states that war should never be unleashed from German soil again.

Humanity must usher in the 21st century, being confident of its peaceful tomorrow. Decisive actions by all states and peoples are indispensable to this. Jointly pondering what took place in Europe 50 years ago should be a constant impetus for new, ever more effective actions for the sake of creating a world without weapons and wars. The ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Treaty countries address nations with a call to do everything to safeguard peace, achieve disarmament and mutual understanding, develop cooperation, and ensure economic and social progress of every nation so that Europe and the whole world should never experience horrors of a new world war.

Gerasimov on 11 Apr Syrian Attack on Soviet Ships

LD1304132789 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 13 Apr 89

["Accident in the Mediterranean"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today that on April 11 two helicopters with Syrian markings attacked two Soviet auxiliary vessels with rockets, namely a sea tugboat and a divers' boat in the Mediterranean Sea. Seven people were wounded and one contused. The anti-submarine tracker KRASNYY KAVKAZ and the cruiser Leningrad hurried to the aid of the attacked vessels. The injured sailors were given medical aid and two of them were taken to Tartus for treatment. The most severely injured sailors were Senior Warrant Officer Biserov and seaman Shkitchenko. The latter is in critical condition.

The Syrian side expressed regret at the accident and offered its official apology. The competent organs of the two countries are thoroughly investigating reasons for the accident. According to a preliminary data, the accident was caused by erroneous actions of one of the Syrian helicopters.

Gerasimov Conducts News Briefing 12 Apr

LD1204153189 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Cessation of the production of fissionable materials would be a good factor to restrict the arms race both quantiative and qualitative, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing today.

He reminded the audience that Mikhail Gorbachev made public in London the Soviet decision to discontinue already during this year the production of highly enriched uranium for military purposes and said the USSR planned—in addition to the closure in 1987 of the industrial reactor producing plutonium for weapons—to close during the present and next years two more such reactors and would not commission any new capacities as replacement. "The Soviet Union is prepared, parallel with the further development of the already started process of real nuclear disarmament, to reduce, on the basis of reciprocity and the stage-by-stage approach, and eventually to fully discontinue the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons", the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Refering to the question of the recent statement of three countries in Indochina, Gennadiy Gerasimov said their initiative received a positive welcome around the world and only the Khmer Rouge gave a negative response. "The deadline for the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea has been decided and we have no grounds to doubt that it will be strictly followed. Now it is important to embark on the practical solution of both internal and external aspects in the region," he said. The full cessation of military assistance to the opposing Khmer sides, an end to outside interference, a guarantee of the non-restoration of the Pol Pot genocide regime and of inadmissibility of an outbreak of a civil war in Kampuchea following withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops—all these would create a drastically new situation in the settlement of the situation in the region, the Soviet spokesman said.

Reporting on the consultations held in Moscow between the International-Law Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the Department for General Matters of the Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands on cooperation in the struggle with the illegal drug trafficking, Gennadiy Gerasimov criticized the attacks on the part of certain Western press organs on Bulgaria which is alleged to produce narcotic drugs. He described as "sheer invention" reports alleging a Soviet appeal to corresponding U.S. authorities to provide assistance in combatting narcotic traffic from Bulgaria to the USSR. The Foreign Ministry spokesman drew attention to the fact that an active trafficking in narcotic drugs was pursued by the Afghan opposition.

Gennadiy Gerasimov reported that the situation in Tbilisi "is normal, barring the preservation of the curfew and the presence of tanks in the streets". State institutions operate, shops and transport do as well. But there are no lectures at higher education establishments and the turnout of pupils at school is 40 to 50 percent. Every-day crime rate is below normal and is nearing zero. During the curfew 163 people have been detained, most of them being those who have not been able to get the necessary passes. The number of those who died as the result of the crush occurred on the night of April 9 in the square before the house of the government has reached 19—another girl has died today.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that should they in Georgia take the responsibility for the enforcement of law and order, then not a single soldier and not a single tank would remain in the streets of Tbilisi. But the consolidation of the public forces for maintaining law and order in the city has so far not taken place, he said.

Updates Situation in Afghanistan

LD1204202889 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Mosow April 12 TASS—Fighting between government troops and the armed opposition in Afghanistan goes on in the Province of Nangarhar and the district of Khowst, and the mojaheddins attacks on Jalalabad have been repulsed. There are casualties among innocent civilians and troops. This was reported by head of the Soviet Union Foreign Ministry Information Directorate Gennadiy Gerasimov at a briefing today.

During the present visit to Afghanistan of a delegation of officials from the Tajik, Turkmen and the Uzbek Republics, the Soviet side expressed its readiness to accept for treatment Afghan servicemen and civilians wounded during the shelling of cities and to give Afghan children the possibility to spend their summer vacations in the Soviet Union, the spokesman said. The delegation discussed with Afghan authorities USSR's cooperation with Afghanistan in agriculture, in setting up processing enterprises in the light and food industries and construction of hospitals and schools.

At a meeting of the U.N. Security Council in New York 'Abdul Wakil, foreign minister of Afghanistan, called on the international community to take urgent steps to end Pakistan's interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The situation in Afghanistan could be be helped to stabilise by a dispatch to Afghanistan and Pakistan of Security council missions to investigate facts of violations of the existing accords and to familiarise themselves with the situation. The Pakistani representative stated the agreement of his government to the deployment of permanent U.N. observer groups in three points along the Pakistani border.

Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed that if Pakistan actually created conditions for an effective discharge by the U.N. mission of its duties, this would be "the first step toward strengthening the U.N. control over the observance of the provisions of the Geneva accords". The very fact of the U.N. Security Council being seized with the Afghan complaint, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman further said, reflects the concern of the international community over the dangerous development of the Afghan situation.

Commenting [on] press reports about the production of opium in the opposition-controlled areas of Afghanistan, Gerasimov said that "the use of narcotics business for military ends is at variance not only with the existing international legal instruments on narcotic drugs but also with all the universal norms of human morality, this is also immoral from the viewpoint of the religious ethics of Islam." "The hefty profits obtained through this illegal traffic go not so much into the pockets of the opposition leaders and not so much into the continuation of the bloody war, as to those who control the drug traffic in Pakistani territory," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Details Fighting Around Jalalabad

LD1204205489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Excerpt] A briefing on current issues in international politics for Soviet and foreign journalists was held at the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry in Moscow today. The briefing was hosted by Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the Foreign Ministry. Dwelling on the situation in and around Afghanistan, he said:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] Detachments of the armed opposition are continuing their activities in Nangarhar Province and Khowst District. In Nangarhar, near Jalalabad, the enemy launched a number of random offensives on the town's security posts. The offensives were rebuffed by strikes by government artillery and aviation. The shelling of Jalalabad is continuing. On 11 April, 11 houses, 2 mosques, and several shops were destroyed. Some civilians and servicemen were victims. A rise in anti-Pakistani feelings has been noted in Jalalabad because the residents know that these shellings are only possible with approval and aide from the Pakistani authorities.

On 11 April, the situation in the area of Khowst was tense. Following an artillery bombardment of the town and government positions, the rebels and Pakistani militias started intensive offensives and captured a number of security posts. Sustained battles for Khowst continue.

The last three notes submitted by the Afghan Foreign Ministry to UN representatives mention 11 new violations by Pakistan of its pledges under the Geneva accords. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Northern Fleet Commander on Submarine Accident

PM1204155589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 89 First Edition p 4

[Report on interview with Admiral F. Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet, by unidentified own correspondent under the headline: "What Will the Log Say?"; date, place not given]

[Text] Our correspondent asked Adm F. Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet, to answer some questions in connection with the loss of the submarine.

[Correspondent] Comrade Admiral, have the causes of the fire on the wrecked submarine been established yet?

[Gromov] The government commission is still trying to establish the causes. It is possible that the fire broke out in the stern. We can conclude this at present mainly from the warning system in operation in the submarine control room, which registered a rise in temperature in the stern.

[Correspondent] How is the work of the government commission organized?

[Gromov] It is being conducted in various areas: Each section of the commission has its own special brief. A great deal of research is being carried out with a mock-up of the situation on the submarine at different stages in the struggle to save it.

[Correspondent] What is your opinion of the actions of the submarine's personnel and commanding officer?

[Gromov] Personnel displayed great moral and combat qualities, tenacity, and persistence in the struggle to save the submarine. right up until the end submarine personnel did not believe that their ship could be lost and did everything possible to prevent this happening. This particularly applies to the ship's command and Captain Third Rank Ye. Vanin personally.

Great professional maturity was demonstrated by the commanders of all the combat units and the commanders of all the battalions in the electrical engineering subunit, which carried the main burden of organizing the struggle to save the ship. As an example I can cite the actions of Captain Third Rank B. Yudin, commander of the Movement Battalion [divizion dvizheniya]. Incidentally, he not only ably led his subordinates but also rescued from the smoke-filled section several people who had lost consciousness.

[Correspondent] Were the log—the ship's "black box"—and other important submarine documents salvaged?

[Gromov] Yes, a considerable proportion of the ship's documents, including the log, were saved. In view of their particular importance, submarine personnel managed to ensure their safety even in a critical situation like this.

[Correspondent] Two torpedoes with nuclear warheads sank together with the submarine. As we already know, there is no danger of the seawater being contaminated with radioactivity. What guarantees this?

[Gromov] The design of the torpedoes and other precautionary measures.

[Correspondent] There have been cases in past years when selfless, courageous actions by military personnel in tackling accidents on board ship have been passed over in silence. It was considered somehow unseemly to even start up a conversation about their bravery being rewarded—it's just unfortunate, people would say. What is going to happen on this occasion?

[Gromov] The cases you mention did, unfortunately, occur. I think that this time—depending on the results of the government commission's work—everyone, those who died and those who survived, will be given their due.

[Correspondent] What does the future hold for the surviving crew members of the sunken submarine?

[Gromov] First of all, they will complete their set course of treatment and then their suitability for service at sea will be decided individually—taking their own wishes into account, of course.

[Correspondent] Will the families of those who died be given any assistance?

[Gromov] This question is now being decided. No family must be forgotten. Preliminary measures to give this assistance have already been outlined.

[Correspondent] The last question: According to the reports, 42 people died. What does this high number show?

[Gromov] First of all it shows (as I have already said) that people did not think of giving in, as they were sure that they would be able to save their ship. That is the reason why some of the submarine personnel did not have time to use the on-board safety equipment. I should also mention the need to improve the design of some of the emergency and safety facilities. But the final conclusions—including, I believe, on this matter—will be made by the government commission.

Submarine Crewman Describes Shutting Down Reactor

LD1204175989 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Murmansk April 12 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vasily Belousov:

Lieutenant-Commander Igor Orlov was rescued after the Soviet submarine sank in the Norwegian Sea on April 7. It was he who did the main thing at the critical moment—shut down the submarine's reactor and thus prevented any radiation spill into the sea.

On Wednesday [12 April] I met with the courageous man in a hospital. Here is what he told me.

"When it became clear that the reactor's operation was no longer needed, I took the decision to cut its work in accordance with the emergency instruction. The operation of the power-unit was my responsibility and I was authorised to shut it down even if the conditions were just a bit off-normal.

"After the emergency control rods went down automatically, I clinched the matter by bringing the fuel rods as far down as possible. The shutdown was securely completed. In fact, the reactor had been rendered inoperable straight after the emergency control worked", Orlov said.

"All the cooler pumps were on and worked non-stop to cool the core", Orlov said. "Before leaving the submarine, just five minutes before the plunge, I inspected the central control board for the last time. I remember the indications vividly.

"At the moment, the temperature in the first loop was 35 degrees centigrade. It means that the reactor had already cooled down. I want to add that the cooling system was autonomous and would operate even if the submarine's entire power network failed. The system had been repeatedly tested so that we were confident in its dependability. It ensured complete safety. Destruction of the first loop is also excluded", Orlov said.

Lieutenant-Commander Orlov stressed that the nuclear power-units installed on Soviet submarines have a very high degree of dependability.

United States and Canada

Ambassador Matlock Visits Kirghizia 15-16 Mar

18070589 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 17 Mar 89 p 1

[KirTAG article: "Visit in Kirghizia"]

[Text] J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, was in Kirghizia 15-16 March on a familiarization trip.

The ambassador saw the sights in the city of Frunze, and he visited the Kirghiz museum of fine arts.

A meeting was held with representatives of the creative arts professions and mass media of the republic in which well-known personalities from the literary, film, music, theater, and painting world participated. Bilateral Soviet-American relations were discussed in an interesting and useful conversation. The general opinion was expressed that cooperation and mutual understanding between our countries and people will serve the cause of strengthening peace throughout the world. Ambassador J. Matlock answered numerous questions from those present.

During a visit to the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences, the ambassador was acquainted with the activity of the scientific institutes. The guest was shown samples of items by people's masters in the "Kyyal"production association of national artistic trades.

The ambassador was greeted in the republic's House of Cinema by USSR People's Artist T. Okeyev, who is a film director and first secretary of the board of the Kirghiz SSR Union of Cinematographers. Afterwards a showing of T. Okeyev's film "The Offspring of A Snow Leopard" was organized.

During his stay in the republic, Ambassador J. Matlock had discussions with M. Sh. Sherimkulov, secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee; Zh. T. Tumenbayeva, Kirghiz SSR minister of foreign affairs and deputy chairman of the council of ministers; and A. M. Muraliyev, chairman of the Frunze city soviet executive committee.

In the conversations the ambassador asked about the progress of restructuring in the republic. He especially noted the positive effect that the changes taking place in the Soviet Union are having—the broadening of glasnost and democratization—on the improvement in relations between the USSR and the U.S., and the normalization of the situation in the entire world.

A dinner was held in honor of Ambassador J. Matlock on behalf of the minister of foreign affairs of the Kirghiz SSR. The honored guest was accompanied on the trip by R. Matlock, his wife, and J. Matlock, his son.

Chess Trainer Denies Holding Back Kamskiy

18000782 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 14, 8-14 Apr 89 p 8

[Answer to reader's question by A. Bykhovskiy]

[Text] It is now known that Soviet chess player Gata Kamskiy, along with his father, has requested political asylum in the United States. He did this supposedly because of his oppression as a chess player here in our country. Is this true?

[signed] S. Burov, Serpukhov

We asked A. Bykhovskiy, senior trainer of the USSR Youth Chess Team, to answer this question.

Gata Kamskiy is one of the most promising young chess players, diligent and purposeful. He won the country's youth championship at the age of twelve. Last year, however, was not so successful for him. Of five prestigious masters tournaments he finished in the middle of the field in two, and at the bottom of the rest.

The USSR Chess Federation and its Leningrad division have frequently offered him the opportunity to work with leading masters and even grand masters. But the boy's father declined all of these offers, wanting to gather all of the laurels of trainer status for himself, despite his lack of any chess qualifications.

Regarding the fact that the father and son have remained in the United States, I can say with complete confidence that this was not of Gata's doing. The decision to remain abroad undoubtedly belongs to the father.

Now, as to whether we oppressed the young chess player here in this country. After moving to Leningrad recently, he and his father received a two-room apartment. He was paid a sports stipend of R120 per month. His father received a supplementary allowance for "trainership." Gata was supplied with the latest chess information on the level of the country's leading masters, and had a "chess computer" at his disposal.

Despite his youth, he played in Austria and Romania. In January of this year he was included in a group of young Soviet chess players who were to attend a tournament in the United States, but the elder Kamskiy prevented this trip. I think that Gata will have a hard time competing on his level in the United States, because there is no trainers' institute there, and chess does not enjoy state support.

Vessel Sent To Clean Up Alaskan Oil Spill

LD1204202589 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Mosow April 12 TASS—"When the Exxon Valdez spilled oil after slamming into a reef, we promptly responded to the American request to assist the clean-up effort by sending to the Alaskan shore an all-purpose oil clean-up vessel "Vaidagubskiy", TASS was told by Vladimir Raldugin, deputy chief of the Central Administration for Oil Prospecting and Extraction on the continental shelf.

The vessel left the port of Korsakov in the Sakhalin Island and is now heading for Prince William Sound. It is equipped with two powerful installations for sucking up oil and one further installation for separating it from water.

The "Vaidagubskiy" can clean up spills and store the oil in its own reservoirs. It is also equipped to liquidate surface film by dispersing oil. The Soviet Union has, in addition, dispatched to Alaska a two-thousand metre-long boom guard to help contain the spill and prevent it from spreading.

It is not the first time that Soviet rescuers helped Alaska. Last fall they assisted local citizens in rescuing grey Californian whales trapped in ice off Cape Barrow.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Foreign Minister Stops in Moscow 10 Apr

PM1104105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Moscow Stopover"]

[Text] Kim Yong-nam, member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee Politburo, deputy premier of the DPRK Administration Council, and DPRK foreign minister, stopped over in Moscow 10 April en route from Pyongyang. He held friendly talks at the airport with I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Kwan Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talks.

DPRK Envoy Cited on Visit by ROK Clergyman

LD1104214189 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 11 TASS—"Pastor Mun Ik-hwan's visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will give a new impetus to the development of dialogue between the north and the south of Korea", Kwan Hui-kyong, the DPRK ambassador to the Soviet Union, said.

He was speaking on Tuesday at a news conference on the results of the visit of Mun Ik-hwan, a South Korean clergyman, to the DPRK from March 25 to April 3.

According to Kwan Hui-kyong, during his stay in the DPRK Mun Ik-hwan was received by Kim Il-song, DPRK president and the Workers' Party of Korea general secretary.

The priest also had talks with the committee for the peaceful reunification of the motherland and these talks resulted in a joint statement.

The document states the incompatibility of the American-South Korean "Team Spirit" manoeuvres with the idea of peace and reunification and the necessity of consolidating

The entire nation for the reunification, speeding up military and political talks and concentrating efforts on bilateral exchanges and settling the problem of separated families.

The reached agreements, the document states, can form the basis for official talks between the north and the south.

Kwan Hui-kyong said that Mun Ik-hwan's visit to the DPRK will go down in the history of the national movement for the reunification of Korea.

The ambassador condemned Seoul's intention to penalise the priest under the pretence that he violated the law of state security.

A statement of the committee for the peaceful reunification of the country, distributed among the participants in the news conference, stressed that the South Korean authorities' allegations that the priest's visit in Pyongyang was a lawless action, committed without their knowledge and consent, are groundless.

A written invitation addressed to the leaders of four South Korean parties and to three opposition leaders, Mun Ik-hwan among them, was officially presented to South Korean authorities on January 30 and then forwarded by them to the addresses.

Effort To Restrict DPRK Contacts Criticized

PM1204082389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 89 Second Edition p5

[Sergey Tikhomirov "Correspondent's Commentary": "Breach in the Wall"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 8 Apr—"Tug-of-war" is one of the Koreans' favorite pursuits. At least, it was in ancient times, when "combined teams" from several villages and even cities would take part in the game.

This game was largely ritualistic, because the idea was that the victors would be guarded against terrible disease and famine. Fortunately, no one is threatened by hunger here these days but, more than 40 years after Korea was divided into two, people in both the north and south of the country are tormented by the "famine" of mistrust, which has a very painful impact—and not only on the situation in the Korean peninsula.

Nevertheless, the first shoots of changes in relations between North and South are starting to break out—albeit still very timidly at present—and, what is more, often where this would have been inconceivable only yesterday (is this not the result of the general warming of the international climate?). The two clearest examples of this are provided by two visits to Pyongyang: First Chong Chu-yong, honorary chairman of the major South Korean finance and industry conglomerate "Hyundai," visited the DPRK capital (in January this year); then, in March, the visitor was the priest Mun Ik-hwan, a well-known public figure in South Korea.

The first visit was characterized by the signing of a whole package of fundamental accords concerning economic cooperation between North Korea and South Korea. First, the protocol was signed to an agreement to jointly build a tourist infrastructure and resort center in the Kumgang Mountains on the east coast of the DPRK. Second, the sides agreed to jointly build and use a shipyard and also a railroad car construction plant in the city of Wonsan, also on the Sea of Japan. And finally another, equally important accord which, in my view, not only goes beyond the bounds of inter-Korean dialogue but also testifies to a fundamentally important turning point in the development of regional cooperation. I am referring to the wish expressed by the DPRK and South Korea to take part in a project to develop regions of Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

The USSR, as is well known, is ready to cooperate with its Far Eastern neighbors.

It is 2 months since the Chong Chu-yong visit. In line with an earlier accord, the South Korean businessman is soon to pay another visit to the DPRK, and, what is more, this time he will not come via third countries, as he did in the winter, but by the direct route, across the demarcation line which serves as the border between North and South. However, news agencies have reported from Seoul that the visit is not going to take place. Why?

In the opinion of the South Korean government, the businessman's visit must be postponed because the priest Mun Ik-hwan came here recently on a so-called secret visit. In other words, Seoul has decided to "punish" both Pyongyang, for giving a cordial welcome to a compatriot from the South, and the priest, of whose visit the South Korean government only learned from radio reports. If this is indeed the case, we are obviously witnessing an official repudiation of President No Tae-u's "special declaration" of 7 July last year. As is well known, in that declaration he expressed South Korea's willingness to begin all-round exchange with the DPRK. But in reality it seems that No's "special declaration" also needs special authorization.

Strictly speaking, Mun Ik-hwan acted in breach of the so-called "law on national security." Under the provisions of that law, contacts with North Korea not sanctioned by the South Korean government are forbidden.

"I am not afraid of going to jail," Mun Ik-hwan told journalists in Pyongyang. "The authorities must understand my action correctly. I am convinced of the need for talks at the civil level and contacts between people. The split in the nation cannot last forever. Today, some 85 percent of the South Korean population hope that the inter-Korean dialogue will deepen...."

Well, one can only admire the civic courage of the priest, who has already been jailed four times for taking part in the South Korean democratic movement. To be perfectly frank, I think that those circles in South Korea which are trying to portray Mun Ik-hwan's DPRK visit as nothing more than "playing up" to Pyongyang, believing that his meetings here will give some extra propaganda trump cards to their northern partner in the talks, are making a mistake.

For my own part, I will be so bold as to say that, first and foremost, the two visits have contributed to a better understanding of the positions and intentions of North and South and, consequently, to deeper mutual understanding between them. That is why I am deeply convinced that the slogan used in the ancient games of "tug-of-war"—"Victory or Death!"—which has been used from time to time in the propaganda dynamics over the 38th Parallel, is hardly appropriate here. After all, we would like to believe that we are not talking about a game here but about a dialogue, which is now gathering momentum with such enormous difficulty. A dialogue which, on the basis of reasonable compromise, can be expected to break down the wall of alienation between Koreans once and for all.

Japan Adopts 'Forward-Based' Military Strategy

LD1204100889 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Tokyo April 12 TASS—The Japanese Armed Forces will assume a new forward-based strategy which envisages moving troops forward to state borders and conducting combat operations along the perimeter of the Japanese Islands.

Military spokemen said the new concept will be inherent in a new-generation preparatory military plan which the National Defence Agency will begin to implement from 1991.

Thereby the military circles renounce the previous emphasis on counterattacks and defensive action deep inside territory.

YOMIURI SHIMBUN newspaper reports today that under the new strategy strong points will be set up around the country. The provision of land forces with artillery and their training for the conduct of combat operations will change.

Long-range artillery will become the backbone of the troops' firepower, with large artillery practice grounds to be established.

Talks on Soviet-Japanese 'Peace Treaty' Viewed

OW0904212789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Commentary by station diplomatic commentator Mikhaylov]

[Text] Soviet-Japanese deputy foreign minister-level consultations and the first-round working group talks on a peace treaty were held in Tokyo in late March. Regarding the significance of these events, which have occured at the current stage in the Soviet-Japanese relations, Moscow Radio diplomatic commentator Mikhaylov, comments as follows:

Needless to say, the Soviet-Japanese deputy foreign minister-level consultations promoted political dialogues between the two countries. Both sides exchanged views on international issues, including the East-West relations, disarmament, settlement of regional conflicts, and the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. At the consultations, it was noted that the Soviet Union and Japan shared similar views on several issues.

Positively appraising forward-looking changes in the world, both sides expressed hope for success at ongoing disarmament negotiations on nuclear arms and chemical and conventional weapons. Also, both Soviet and Japanese sides shared very similar postures in solving problems that create a series of regional tensions. The representatives of both sides agreed that it is not desirable, in any region, to create a closed multinational economic cooperation mechanism.

In this way, at the recent deputy foreign minister-level consultations, both sides shared very similar postures more than ever on considerably wide range of international issues. It seems like a very desirable sign for Soviet-Japanese relations because finding out a common approach toward international issues will directly lead us to establishment of constructive mutual cooperation needed for solving such international issues. It will undoubtedly uplift international prestige of the Soviet Union and Japan, which have considerable influences in the international arena, should both countries jointly contribute to solving global issues, including disarmament, economics, and ecology. Keeping all of these backgrounds in mind, one can note a certain uncertainty by observing the exchanges of views on bilateral issues that exist between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Regrettably, the Japanese side completely lacked constructive approaches when both sides exchanged views on preparation for Soviet-Japanese summit talks. An agreement regarding the commencement of the preparation work for Soviet-Japanese summit talks was reached when Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Japan in December last year. The Soviet side confirmed, at the recent consultations, its readiness to conclude a new government-to-government agreement. Nevertheless, the Japanese side did not make proposals to respond to the Soviet confirmation. The Japanese side not only refused to accept a part of Soviet proposals made previously but also added many collateral conditions to the proposals. In addition, a Japanese newspaper wrote as if the Soviet side tried to trade General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan for conclusion of these agreements and proposals with the Japanese Government. These are unrealistic views. In making proposals for conclusion of a new agreement, the Soviet side tried to exchange views with the Japanese side to create an atmosphere for realization of Soviet-Japanese summit talks and to substantiate the talks with realistic contents. The starting point of the Soviet approach was based on the idea that the the government-to-govermnent agreement could not be concluded unless it reflected mutual benefits.

As before, the Japanese side did not give up its attempt, even at the recent consultations, to combine realizaton of Soviet-Japanese summit talks with a change of Soviet position on Japan's territorial demand. As was the case in the past, such a position serves no purpose but to complicate the General Secretary's visit to Japan. However, the two sides insisted on maintaining efforts for an improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations. That is because both sides think that the bilateral relations will be improved and perhaps thrive in the wake of Soviet-Japanese summit talks. We hope the words Japanese diplomats use regarding this issue will not continue to be ultimatums.

Needless to say, the first-round working group talks on a peace treaty held in Tokyo are of great importance in the history of Soviet-Japanese political exchanges. At the talks, the Soviet side stated its own concept regarding a peace treaty. A peace treaty must be based on the results of World War II and also international practices of the past dozens of years. Moreover, this peace treaty must clearly state that the two counteirs will adhere to the goals and principles of the UN Charter and other UN documents. Also, it is necessary for the two countries to make a declaration to express their determinations to carry out mutual activities on the basis of a spirit which values their desire for peace, good neighborliness, noninterference in other countries' domestic affairs, and the abandonment of a national land utilization policy detrimental to the other side's interests. Also, a peace treaty must reflect geological aspects. In short, postwar border line between the Soviet Union and Japan must be clarified.

At the working group talks, the Japanese delegation merely explained its position on the so-called territorial issue. On the other hand, the Soviet side expounded on its argument justifying Soviet jurisdiction of the disputed area even in terms of international laws and history.

As one can understand from the discussions at the first-round working group talks, the Soviet Union and Japan have different views regarding details of a peace treaty. However, in light of the fact that views were exchanged in a calm and businesslike manner, one can predict that the working group will conduct careful discussions to bring about fruitful results.

I would like to believe that a posture with cool and careful thoughts regarding the reality of the contemporary world, which has been built on the bases of the result of World War II, will ultimately win. I also would like to believe that it will become a prevailing recognition that stable, normal, and good neighborly relations, based on a strong foundaton of peace treaty, between the Soviet Union and Japan will reflect the interests of people in both countries.

Soviet people expect that the Japanese side will show their understanding of the Soviet approaches and positive reactions during the course of Foreign Minister Uno's visit to the Soviet Union slated from 30 April to 4 May.

Japanese Views on USSR, Bilateral Ties Viewed

OW0904152789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 6 Apr 89

[Dispatch by Tokyo correspondent Potapov]

[Text] The outcome of a government poll on Japan's foreign policy was recently published. According to the results, 14.1 percent of the Japanese polled felt friendship toward the Soviet Union.

Although the figure is not large, it represents an increase of 4.3 precent from the previous poll and is the highest figure ever. For this reason, this is an important matter worthy of our attention. The trend of growing friendly sentiments among Japanese toward the Soviet Union is viewed as an expression of their interest in the expanding process of restructuring and glasnost under way in the Soviet Union. These interests do not appear to be temporary.

A television company in Japan recently conducted a survey on which country has most frequently appeared in Japan's mass media. The survey has revealed that the country is the Soviet Union. Major dailies in Japan routinely carry articles on life and events in the Soviet Union. The Russian words for restructuring and glasnost can often be heard at various symposiums and lectures in Japan. They are even applied to describe Japan's situation from time to time.

In any case, it appears certain that many Japanese are attracted by the various changes in and peace-oriented nature of Soviet policy. Many Japanese write letters expressing such sentiments to various Soviet newspapers and the Tokyo Bureau of Moscow Radio. At the general meeting of an association for friendship with the Soviet Union held recently in Tokyo, it was pointed out that the number of Japanese with friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union is growing as the Soviet Union carries out restructuring. For example, in an interview with a Moscow Radio reporter, Yoshimichi Murakami, one of the leaders of the Japan-Soviet Friendship Association, expressed his support for restructuring and glasnost. Mr Murakami also expressed his hope that the Soviet people will achieve success in their efforts to carry out reform programs in economic, social, and other fields. Successful results of their efforts will help advance socialist construction. We believe the new thinking of the Soviet leadership will remove the lack of trust in Soviet-Japanese relations and stimulate active dialogue for strengthened mutual understanding and goodneighborly relations between the two countries.

However, there are differing views in Japan. There are some in Japan who attempt to undermine the real objectives of restructuring and its chance for success. Others show irritation with the conservatives, who have supported Japan's hostile policy toward the Soviet Union in the past.

There is a proverb in Japan which holds that nearby friends are more important than faraway relatives. This proverb is often used in regard to Soviet-Japanese relations in a political sense. Geographically speaking, the Soviet Union is Japan's closest neighbor. The distance between Hokkaido and Shikotan in Soviet territory is a mere 3.5 km. Many people in Hikkaido and other areas in Japan regard this geographical proximity as an important motivation for promoting goodneighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Japan's KYODO Managing Director Interviewed

Discusses Soviet Restructuring

OW0904213889 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 7 Apr 89

[First installment of an interview with KYODO Managing Director Yasuhiko Inukai by unidentified Moscow Radio reporter in Moscow; date not given—recorded; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported, a KYODO delegation headed by Managing Director Yasuhiko Inukai visited Moscow at the invitation of TASS. A Moscow Radio reporter had an interview with Mr Inukai, and we are now going to air the recorded interview:

[Reporter] Mr Inukai, please tell me about the main purpose of your current visit to the Soviet Union and its schedule.

[Inukai] Yes, we have arrived in Moscow as a KYODO delegation at the invitation of TASS. KYODO is a news service representing Japan. It furnishes news items to almost all newspapers and television and radio stations in Japan. It has maintained very friendly and cooperative relations with TASS for a long time. One of the aims of the current visit is to renew a contract with TASS. In addition, we will have a roundtable talk and exchange views freely. We are here to further strengthen mutual understanding between Japan and the Soviet Union and between their peoples. We are here to mutually cooperate and promote joint work with a view to contributing to friendship between the two countries through news activities.

At the TASS news agency, we met with Director General (Khrapchenko) and other staffers and unanimously agreed to step up efforts to this end. I think this is a truly pleasant achievement. Concretely speaking, last year KYODO and TASS conducted public opinion surveys in their respective countries by posing the same questions. This was the first such event between Japan and the Soviet Union. The results of the polls were widely reported in Japan. I think the results were useful for increasing the Japanese people's understanding of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people's way of thinking. I think they were also useful for promoting the Japanese people's friendly feelings toward the Soviet Union.

In addition, we and TASS have agreed to continue public opinion surveys together in the future. The two sides have also reached a unanimity of views regarding the promotion of understanding and close relations through the exchanges of staffers and their mutual visits. I think the current visit to Moscow is significant for both news agencies.

Besides TASS, we also visited PRAVDA, where we met with Chief Editor Afanasyev. At IZVESTIYA, we met with Chief Editor Laptev. On 5 April we also visited NOVOSTI, where we met with Board Chairman Vlasov. In addition to these people engaged in news activities, we met with Deputy Minister Rogachev at the Foreign Ministry. We met with people at the World Economics and International Relations Institute and also with [words indistinct]. A question we unanimously asked was about the results of the recent people's deputies' elections. They pointed out that the elections were held in the Soviet Union for the first time amid striking progress in restructuring and that their significance was truly great. They said the results reflected extensive support from the people for restructuring. [Words indistinct] said that this represented the victory of the CPSU. We had a great interest in the results of the elections. We visited people and could hear their frank comments on the elections. This was of very great benefit to us.

Views Ties, N. Territories Issue

OW1004051689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 8 Apr 89

[Second and final installment of an interview with KYODO Managing Director Yasuhiko Inukai by unidentified Moscow Radio reporter in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Inukai] In Japan there is great interest in General Secretary Gorbachev's restructuring. As I have stated at the various places I have visited, I think no other Soviet leader has ever enjoyed as deep an interest, as high a popularity in a sense, or as great a friendly feeling from the Japanese people as he does. Through General Secretary Gorbachev's new way of thinking, various considerable changes are now taking place in international relations, including Soviet-U.S. relations, Soviet-Chinese relations, and Soviet-European relations. In addition, the Japanese people are watching with friendly and hopeful feelings the general secretary's leadership and policies, including glasnost, one of whose products, I believe, has been the current elections.

The only problem is the relationship between Japan and the Soviet Union. I think that Japan and the Soviet Union have the same goal of establishing closer and truly friendly relations and of concluding a peace treaty. However, they also have difficulty, or a point at issue, in conducting mutual negotiations. This is a fact. More specifically speaking, this difficulty is the territorial issue, as it is called in Japan. It may be difficult to resolve this issue immediately, but everyone I have met has expressed the expectation and hope that it will be resolved without fail if negotiations are conducted with sincerity and if both sides value their common aims. The Japanese people have the same expectations. Therefore, I think the Japanese people would also strive to move in the same direction.

[Reporter] I would like to talk about Japanese-Soviet relations. Of course, it will take time to resolve the various issues of Japanese-Soviet relations and conclude a peace treaty. To this end, I think we should create a special atmosphere—not hostile but good-neighborly—among the people. What activities should the Soviet and Japanese mass media carry out to create such an atmosphere?

[Inukai] I do not think Japan and the Soviet Union have sufficient knowledge of one another or each other's problems. In public opinion surveys conducted last year, we found some new and interesting facts. We found that the Soviet people had very friendly feelings toward the Japanese people. Frankly speaking, in comparison it was found that the Japanese people did not have the same degree of friendly feelings toward the Soviet people. I think this can be attributed to the Japanese people's failure to fully understand the current situation in addition to the influences of past incidents upon their minds. For example, I proposed to TASS that both sides exchange reporters and staffers and that they make concrete efforts to get to know each other better. Both sides have agreed to do this.

We have reached the same agreement with NOVOSTI. In 1987, a KYODO news team visited the Soviet Union through the cooperation of NOVOSTI. The team witnessed actual restructuring activities and depicted them in a serial account. It was the first major account of restructuring carried in a Japanese newspaper. It was very popular then. During our current visit, we expressed our hope to NOVOSTI Board Chairman Vlasov that we can again send a similar news team to the Soviet Union to make a concrete report on the actual living status of the Soviet people and on their voice. Since ours is a news organization, we would like to further promote mutual understanding between the peoples of the two countries through news activities. I think, as you have said, that the creation of a good atmosphere and mutual understanding will create conditions leading to a great step forward.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Observer on U.S. Attitude Toward Khmer Rouge

BK1104032489 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 10 Apr 89

[Station observer Viktor Valentinov's commentary]

[Text] An uproar broke out in the U.S. Congress following U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's statement which expressed the intention of recognizing the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge and establishing official relations with this group. Congressman Chester Atkins considered this statement an outdated policy. Our observer Viktor Valentinov writes.

Currently, many conditions exist for a peaceful and equitable solution to the Cambodian situation. The change in U.S. attitude has greatly puzzled people. The solution has two principles: the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the guarantee that the Pol Pot regime is not resurrected in Cambodia. To ensure this, along with the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, military assistance to the warring Cambodian parties should be stopped. First of all, assistance to the Pol Pot Khmer Rouge should be stopped. The Khmer Rouge still nurtures the hope of returning to power in Cambodia. In the United States, people are clearly aware of this hope. I refer to this because U.S. papers continue to talk about preparations by the Khmer Rouge to seize power in Cambodia following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

Through the statement of the three Indochinese countries, we know that the last Vietnamese combatant will leave Cambodia at the end of September. What will happen after this if the Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn and Washington establishes official relations with the Pol Pot group and it provides assistance? Whether the U.S. secretary of state has thought about this or not, I do not know. But for me, I have to think about it. Those who know what happened in that bitter era will surely not forget.

Before the Pol Pot regime took over Phnom Penh, Dr Haing Ngor worked in a Phnom Penh hospital. However, after 17 April 1975, everything changed. Dr Haing Ngor admitted that only lies saved lives. If the Pol Pot group knew he was a doctor, he would certainly have not survived because the Pol Pot men were after intellectuals. He told the blood-suckers that he was a taxi driver. He was dispatched to a solidarity production group where he worked from dawn to dusk without any rest and without freedom to move. Dr Haing Ngor said one day I picked some fruit in the forest and hid it. When the Pol Pot men found out, they sent me to the security service, their prison. They made me sit against a tree and tied my hands. I started to pray. I said if I am going to die, please let me die nicely. Suddenly, something bit my neck; it was a red ant. I was forced to sit near a red ant nest. In the evening, when they came to see me, I almost died. They hit my testicles and pulled my nails—however, I was unconscious. Only three million Cambodians survived.

U.S. Congressman Atkins is correct in considering the intention of supporting the Pol Pot group an outdated policy.

'Terrorists' Attack U.S. Base in Philippines

OW1104012989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1020 GMT 10 Apr 89

[From "The World Today" program; presented by Igor Goranskiy]

[Text] Unknown terrorists made their way unto a U.S. military base near the Philippine city of Baguio. They planted 18 explosive devices, of which 5 exploded. As a result, one antenna was completely destroyed, while another was seriously damaged.

The U.S. Embassy in Manila has refused to give details of the damage. The largest U.S. bases in Asia are deployed in the Philippines. Philippine military police believe the attack was the work of a unit of the insurgent New People's Army, which for many years has waged a struggle against the country's central government.

Near East & South Asia

Syrian-Marked Helicopters Fire on Soviet Ships

PM1204193589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Captain 3d Rank V. Pasyakin: "Incident in Mediterranean"]

[Text] At 1000 hours on 11 April two helicopters bearing Syrian identification marks delivered a missile strike against Soviet auxiliary ships—the seagoing tug SB-524 and the diving boat BM-125, which were approximately 39 miles off the port of Tartus. The main damage was to the BM-125.

Seven men were wounded as a result of the incident and one suffered contusions. The large antisubmarine ship "Krasnyy Kavkaz" and the antisubmarine cruiser "Leningrad," which are in the Mediterranean, hurried to the ships' assistance. Medical aid has been given to the wounded sailors. Two of them have been sent to Tartus for treatment. The most severe injuries were suffered by Chief Petty Officer in Charge Senior Midshipman V. Biserov and Senior Seaman Ye. Shkidchenko; there is little hope of saving the latter...

The competent organs are investigating the reasons for the incident.

Gorbachev Receives Indian Envoy, Gandhi Message

LD1204175189 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev met with the Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union, Triloki Nath Kaul, who handed over a message from the prime minister of the Republic of India, Rajiv Gandhi. Questions of high priority for the two nations were discussed and Soviet-Indian contacts in the forthcoming period were agreed upon.

Iraqi Minister of State Visits USSR

Meets With Ryzhkov

LD1204163189 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov met with Iraq's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, member of the Revolutionary Command Council Sa'dun Hammadi in the Kremlin on Wednesday.

In the course of their conversation, the bilateral relations between the two countries were reviewed, questions of Soviet-Iraqi cooperation were examined and the mutual desire to ensure its further development with the aim, in part, to redress the damage done by the war to Iraq's national economy was emphasized.

Nikolay Ryzhkov spoke about the radical changes underway in every field of Soviet society's life and stressed the organic connections between perestroyka (restructuring) within the country and the affirmation of the new political thinking in international affairs.

The consistent nature of the Soviet leadership's policy aimed at further strengthening Soviet-Iraqi relations was stressed. This policy is not motivated by the current state of affairs but oriented towards perspective and meets the long-term interest of the two nations in the cause of peace and security in the region and the whole world.

Sa'dun Hammadi said that Iraq follows developments in the Soviet Union with great interest and wishes every success to perestroyka. He also informed the Soviets about the Iraqi leadership activity aimed at accelerating the social and economic development of the country and perfecting its political system.

When considering the state of affairs in the Iran-Iraq talks, the Soviet side undescored the importance of ensuring effectiveness of the negotiation process and consistent advancement towards peace and stability in the region.

The Soviet Union, Nikolay Ryzhkov said, is prepared to render every possible assistance to the UN secretary-general in his efforts to put right constructive dialogue between Tehran and Baghdad with the aim to achieve full implementation of the Security Council's Resolution 598.

Meets With Foreign Trade Minister

JN1204130089 Baghdad INA in English 1200 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, Apr 12, INA—Mr. Nikolay Ryzhkov, Soviet prime minister met here today with Mr. Sa'dun Hammadi, Iraqi state minister for foreign affairs.

During the meeting, bilateral relations in different fields and means of improving them as well as issues of joint interest were tackled.

Bilateral talks between Mr. Sa'dun Hammadi and Mr. Konstantin Katushev, Soviet minister of external economic relations, were resumed today.

The Iraqi minister arrived here last Monday leading a delegation on a four-day visit to the Soviet Union.

Gerasimov Says USSR Ready for Saudi Ties

LD1104101889 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0710 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 11 Apr (KUNA)—The spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Gennadiy Gerasimov, has expressed his country's readiness to exchange ambassadors with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia at any time.

In an interview published in today's issue of the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-WATAN, he pointed out that the move to exchange ambassadors between the two countries is awaiting a clear signal from Saudi Arabia at a time when relations between the two countries are witnessing improvement, albeit slow improvement. [passage omitted]

Concerning the Lebanese crisis and the deterioration in security currently being witnessed by Lebanon, Gerasimov said there is a state of total anarchy that would divide any region. The Soviet adviser expressed pessimism regarding the situation in Lebanon, and said he has nothing but good wishes for this beautiful country, which is living through a difficult predicament.

In conclusion, Gerasimov emphasized that the aircraft deal with the Libyan Jamahiriyah is not new. It is an old deal concluded 7 years ago. However, delivery of the aircraft was delayed by the Soviet side due to the terms of delivery and completion.

Kabul Youths Send Message to Gorbachev

LD1204221389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Kabul, 12 April (TASS)—The BAKHTAR news agency has circulated the text of a message from the young people of the Afghan capital to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Afghan young people express sincere gratitude to you for the all-round help of the Soviet Government and the CPSU to the Afghan people, it says in the message. Now, when the Soviet brothers-in-arms have returned to their homeland, Pakistan is expanding its support for the formations of the irreconcilable opposition, and, flouting the clauses of the Geneva agreements, is continuing to act in the direction of implementing its expansionist plans under the slogan "Afghan-Pakistani confederation". The units of the Pakistani frontier tribal militia, the malishi, are taking part in the fighting on the side of the opposition in the Province of Nangarhar.

The United States is increasing its military and financial aid to the extremists. With the participation of Pakistan's special services, a "transitional government" of the mujahidin has been set up in Rawalpindi. The military confrontation on the Afghan-Pakistani frontier has reached its climax.

As guarantor countries for the Geneva agreements, the USSR and the United States can put an end to the foreign interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. The United States, however, is not fulfilling the obligations it has taken upon itself, and Pakistan is putting its territory at the disposal of the Afghan opposition groupings, the message points out.

Afghan Rebels Recruit in United Arab Emirates

LD1104113189 Moscow TASS in English 1117 GMT 11 Apr 89

[Text] Abu Dhabi April 11 TASS—The newspaper AL-KHALIJ published a letter by Mansour 'Abdal-Rahman, a citizen of the Unted Arab Emirates, [UAE] in which he calls upon his country's youth not to give their consent to being recruited into armed groups of the Afghan opposition.

Representatives of opposition Afghan groups visiting the country try to persuade young people to go to Afghanistan and fight against the Kabul governmment there. Some of that country's students were hoodwinked by propaganda and found themselves to be drawn in the civil war in that country. Afghanistan can tackle its problems itself and "jihad (holy war) in that country involves a very insignificant part of the population which is on the payroll of the Central Intelligence Agency that supplies Afghan opposition with modern weapons."

Al-Rahman believes that decisions should be taken to stop the recruitment of young people into groups of Afghan mujahidin.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Adamishin Notes 'Good' News on Namibia

LD1204135489 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—"The latest news from the south of Africa is good," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin told TASS. He has just returned from Windhoek, the administrative centre of Namibia. Firstly, the armed clashes are on the decrease. Secondly, Angola, Cuba, the Southwest Africa People's Organisation [SWAPO] and South Africa, that is the directly interested parties, made very serious political steps to defuse the emergent tension.

On its part, Adamishin went on to say, the Soviet Union acting as an observer along with the United States, exerted much effort to achieve a ceasefire there, satisfactory solution of the emergent conflict and a return to normal realisation of Resolution 435 of the UN Security Council, that is to the process of Namibia's decolonisation.

"I'd like to point out," noted the Soviet diplomat, "that our representatives did much at the UN, in Luanda and Windhoek." The understandings are based on a statement by SWAPO President Sam Nujoma on April 8, 1989. He said that he gave orders to his units in Namibia to stop military operations and return to Angola. Therefore, participants in the trilateral commission—Angola, Cuba and South Africa, as well as the USSR and the U.S. as observers—saw their main task in helping this decision by the SWAPO leadership to find its practical implementation in specific recommendations which will be made. Incidentally, Adamishin noted, the United Nations (that is, the UNTAG force which is now in Namibia) is to play an important role in this respect.

"As for sentiments in Namibia," the deputy foreign minister said, "I have an impression that SWAPO is the organisation which enjoys influence in that country." Of course it faces a difficult political campaign to come to the elections in force, since now it works under unfavourable conditions. Many SWAPO leaders and many of its activists are outside the country, while other parties have already launched an active campaign inside Namibia. Nevertheless, even those who dislike SWAPO, believe that this organisation will win the majority vote at the elections next November.

Latest Namibia Fighting, Resolution Viewed

PM1204132989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[Valentin Korotov "Viewpoint": "Namibian Lesson"]

[Text] Good news has finally come from Namibia. The bloody clashes on its northern border between fighters of the Southwest African People's Organization [SWAPO] and South Africa's military-political formations have stopped.

About 300 lives were lost in the fighting, and this caused serious alarm throughout the world. It was a question, neither more nor less, of the threatened breakdown of the UN plan for the independence of Namibia—the UN trust territory occupied by South Africa—a plan agreed to last December with great difficulty and mutual compromise. Few people doubted that the process of eliminating Africa's last colony would be difficult.

More than 2 decades of the Namibian patriots' struggle—primarily by SWAPO and its armed detachments—on the one hand and the countless punitive operations of the racists' army and police, and their occupation of certain regions in southern Angola, on the other, have created an atmosphere of extreme hostility.

It is understandable that the SWAPO leaders want to strengthen their positions within the country and have the capability of resisting the occupiers in the event of the breakdown of the peace accords and fresh provocations on South Africa's part. It is precisely this that can explain the appearance of SWAPO detachments on Namibian territory along the Angolan border as of 31 March. Here they were attacked by the South Africans and their punitive battalions. Intervention, if somewhat belatedly, by representatives of the UN Namibia Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), and the urgent transfer to the trouble spot of the "blue helmets" helped to stop the slaughter that Pretoria's hawks obviously wanted. Talks began in Windhoek, Luanda, and New York on the normalization of the situation on the border.

In the fashionable Mount Etjo tourist hotel at a 2-day extraordinary session of the trilateral (South Africa, Angola, Cuba) commission to observe the fulfillment of the agreements on a peaceful settlement of the situation in Southwest Africa, an agreement was reached Sunday to stop the conflict. Under the supervision of UN representatives, SWAPO detachments will leave Namibian territory before 15 April and are being stationed in Angola, to the north of the 16th parallel, in order to avert the possibility of new armed clashes. The implementation of the UN plan on preparing for and holding elections and declaring Namibian independence will be continued.

The lesson of the week-long crisis on the Namibian border is very important and instructive. It showed the danger of recurrences of confrontational thinking, of the policy of "fighting fire with fire," and of the desire for military, strong-arm methods; and the risk of counting not on agreed decisions but on the possibility of circuitous maneuvers within the accords reached. It is no secret that South Africa and its ruling elite agreed to the UN plan, to the emergence of an independent Namibia, only under pressure from many objective factors, including also the radical change in the world's political situation. The policy of war with the patriots and the permanent illegal occupation and exploitation of the UN trust territory, which has been conducted for decades by Pretoria, has led to the full political isolation and boycott of South Africa by the world. At the same time, the racists are hoping to retain control over Namibia and install an obedient government in Windhoek. And for this it is essential, above all, to weaken and discredit SWAPO and its leaders. And in this sense the partisan actions of SWAPO's military wing objectively played into Pretoria's hands.

All the same, it is gratifying that the SWAPO leaders and SWAPO's president, Sam Nujoma, sensibly assessed the situation that had emerged and took the decision to withdraw the partisan detachments in order to give UNTAG the chance to implement its mission.

At the same time it should be stressed that the settlement of such a dangerous conflict between, it would seem, irreconcilable opponents is yet one more shining testimony to the real chance of finding a way out of diverse crises by constructive, peaceful, political means. The power and vitality of the new thinking and the new approach to unraveling the most tangled and difficult knots in international affairs are being demonstrated precisely in this.

Official Predicates RSA Ties on Apartheid Ban

LD1204110789 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—"We are ready to restore diplomatic relations with South Africa and establish mutual cooperation in various spheres," a senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official has declared.

"The only condition is that South Afrcia should become a democratic republic observing human rights and the practice and policy of apartheid be done away with," Yuriy Yukalov, head of the Foreign Ministry Africa Department, told the weekly MOSCOW NEWS, published today.

"The possibility of restoring diplomatic ties with Pretoria under the existing regime in that country is ruled out completely," he reiterated.

"In talks on settlement in southwestern Africa, in which the Soviet side took part as observers, we maintained contacts with South African officials," Yukalov recalled.

"Without that, it would have been impossible to reach the accords that resulted in the signing in New York in December last year of a package of agreements by Angola, Cuba and South Africa and by Cuba and Angola and their approval by the UN Security Council," the official was quoted as saying.

"The observer status did not prevent Soviet diplomacy in any way from playing an important part in the complicated search for solutions that have ultimately brought about the signing of the accords," Yukalov said.

The West, he observed, is deliberately distorting the Soviet stance vis-a-vis the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa.

The Soviet Union has always backed the ANC's struggle against apartheid, he added. Naturally, the USSR prefers a political solution to the question of dismantling apartheid. The ANC leadership adheres to the same opinion.

On the conflict situation in Namibia, the Soviet diplomat indicated that the UN secretary-general and UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] personnel are investigating its causes.

"Speculations and charges of all sorts worsen, rather than improve the situation," he said. "In the present-day situation, all parties to the accords should display maximum restraint and lofty responsibility."

East Europe

Decline in Hungarian Party Membership Outlined

PM1204140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "How Many Members Does the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Have?"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Apr—In the fall of 1987 the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] had almost 880,000 members. By the end of last year its numerical strength was down to 801,000. And now there are 780,000 people in the party.

Why is the number of MSZMP members decreasing? These new phenomena were analyzed in the MSZMP Central Committee Party and Mass Organizations Department. Some people are leaving for political reasons: disagreement with the party line on the multiparty system and on the restructuring of political institutions. Such people make up 12 percent.

I had conversations with many MSZMP veterans: They left the party because they cannot accept the formulation that in 1956 there was, it is said, a "popular uprising," and not a counterrevolution. Some 45 percent of those who left give no explanation for their decision. Some people talk about personal grievances; they are dissatisfied that prices are increasing.

Among those who gave up their party cards, 1,200 are leaders of enterprises, cooperatives, and local soviets. They may become members of the Social-Democratic Party being established.

The social proportions of the MSZMP's composition have changed. Workers in the party now make up 39 percent, cooperative workers make up 7 percent, and people engaged in intellectual work, 53 percent. Last year the number of workers among those joining the party fell from 43 to 36 percent, while the proportion of people engaged in intellectual work increased from 33 to 40 percent. The following alarming fact was established: There are very few young people in the party—only 8 percent are under 30 years of age. So, the MSZMP Central Committee is drawing the attention of party organizations to campaign work among the working people of plants and factories, and young people.

In the first 3 months of this year 2,000 people joined the party. During the admission procedure the basic question was: Does the person joining the party agree with the MSZMP's current political aspirations, and the aims of renewal?

Hungary's MSZMP Advocates Multiparty System

PM0404151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Resolution"]

[Text] Budapest, 1 Apr—The documents adopted at the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee plenum held 29 March this year were published here today.

The MSZMP Central Committee resolution on some urgent questions of the reform of the political system points out that the party's aim is to resolve the historic task of creating a new practice of democratic socialism. Profound transformations of the political system are needed because, despite progress in the country's modernization, an economic, political, and moral crisis has arisen in Hungary over the past 10-15 years. Partial reforms cannot lead to stable results.

Political glasnost has been extended in the country in the period since the All-Hungarian MSZMP Conference, and the process of the democratization of the system of political institutions and pluralism has gotten under way.

A change in the system of political institutions is a condition of implementing the economic reform. The MSZMP believes that the democratic exercise of power must take place under public control, by means of representative democracy, within the framework of a multiparty system.

The MSZMP declares that it is ready to hold bilateral and multilateral talks on new ways to exercise power with all organizations that operate within the law.

Reportage on Hungarian Liberation Anniversary

3 Apr Moscow Events Reported

PM0404164989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Dedicated to National Day"]

[Text] A 3 April festive meeting of representatives of the capital's public was dedicated to the Hungarian People's Republic National Day—the 44th anniversary of the country's liberation from fascism.

The spring of 1945, the speakers said, opened to the Hungarian people a path of national revival. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the country's working people have effected far-reaching political and socioeconomic transformations in a comparatively short space of time, historically speaking. The bourgeois landowner system has been eliminated, agrarian reform carried out—placing the land in the hands of those who work it—and banks and industrial enterprises nationalized.

It was noted that the cornerstone of Hungarian foreign policy is Hungary's inviolable friendship and steady development of multifaceted collaboration with the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries. At the present stage, the peoples of our countries are united not only by the community of fundamental principles of the socialist system, but also by their understanding of the need for socialism's decisive renewal.

S. Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, said that the positions of Hungary and the Soviet Union coincide on the most important international problems and questions of further improving socialist building in both countries. This was clearly confirmed during the recent meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and K. Grosz.

The following took part in the meeting: A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments; representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations; military commanders; and cosmonauts.

A delegation of Hungarian-Soviet friendship led by J. Gordos, secretary of Nograd Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Megye Committee, was also present.

S. Rajnai laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum to mark this important event in the life of Hungary. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

S. Rajnai organized a reception the same day to celebrate the national day.

It was attended by A.A. Mokanu, G.G. Vedernikov, and other officials.

Ambassador Gives Annivesary Address

LD0404193989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; studio address in Moscow by Sandor Rajnai, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the Soviet Union, marking Hungary's 44th liberation anniversary; date not given—live or recorded, in Russian]

[Text] Dear Soviet friends!

It is with a feeling of sincere respect and friendship that I greet you on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of our motherland. Along with our other historical dates, 4 April has always occupied a very great place in our consciousness. It is with profound respect that we bow our heads before the Soviet liberator heroes [passage indistinct].

The liberation of Hungary opened the way for construction of our new society. A great deal has been done since that time, and our people are justly proud of their achievements. As in 1944 and 1945, we are once again witnessing fateful times. Our party quite recently adopted a program of action aimed at stimulating social development, and at building democratic socialism corresponding to Hungary's national characteristics.

It is our task, together with the countries of the socialist community, to take part in creating a new world. The Hungarian public, our party and government, not only express agreement but are also ready to support the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, (?backed) by the new political thinking and directed toward strengthening global and universal human responsibility. Both in conjunction with our allies and in our own independent foreign policy, we are ready to help strengthen the Helsinki process.

In this new world that is taking shape, it is with great and committed understanding that we follow the destiny of Hungarians who live outside the bounds of our motherland. We greet with joy the favorable changes in the life of the Hungarian national minority in the Soviet Union, and we consider this a further manifestation of sincere friendship toward our people.

We realize that the countries of the world take an unequal part in resolving global problems. For our part, we would wish to make the maximum contribution to the common cause of creating a new world. We evaluate highly the fact that the states that have a decisive influence upon the destiny of the whole planet have embarked upon that road.

Dear friends! In conclusion, I greet the fraternal Soviet people, who are celebrating our holiday with us, and I hope you successfully implement the grand tasks of restructuring. Thank you for your attention.

Soviet Leaders Greet Hungarian Leaders

PM0404143389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers greetings to Hungarian leaders on Liberation Day]

[Text] To Comrade Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

To Comrade Bruno F. Straub, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council

To Comrade Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the Soviet people the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers cordially congratulate you and the fraternal Hungarian people on the 44th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascism.

In the spring of 1945 the path of national rebirth opened up before the Hungarian people. The friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Hungary have reliably served the interests of the two countries' peoples throughout these years. Today we are united not just by the common fundamental principles of the socialist system, but also by an understanding of the need to resolutely renew socialism. Relying on international solidarity, equal rights, reciprocity, and interest in each other's successes, we can and must give Soviet-Hungarian relations a modern quality corresponding to the urgent demands of our countries' development.

On this memorable day we wish you, dear comrades, and all Hungarian working people happiness, peace, and prosperity.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee
USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
USSR Council of Ministers

Yazov Greets Hungary's Karpati

PM0604144389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Text] To Colonel General Comrade F. Karpati, defense minister of the Hungarian People's Republic

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the personnel of the USSR Armed Forces and myself, I cordially congratulate you and all the servicemen of the Hungarian People's Army on your National Day, the 44th anniversary of Hungary's liberation from fascism.

The victory of people's power and Hungary's subsequent socialist development under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] created favorable conditions for the establishment of friendly relations between our countries. Today Soviet-Hungarian cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, and also cooperation on a bilateral basis, reliably serve the interests of our fraternal peoples and contribute to the strengthening of world socialism's positions.

On your holiday I wish the personnel of the Hungarian People's Army further successes in strengthening the defense capability of their socialist motherland and deepening the indestructible friendship and all-around cooperation between the armies of the Warsaw Pact states.

With communist greetings
Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Hungarian Leaders Greet Soviet Leaders

18070595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] To CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev,

To Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov,

Dear Comrades!

In the name of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, the Presidential Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic we express our gratitude for the congratulations and good wishes upon the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland.

On this day, we respectfully honor the memory of the Soviet heroes who gave their lives for our homeland's freedom, and greet the Soviet people with a sense of friendship.

Hungary is today experiencing an important turning point in its history since the liberation. The enthusiasm and advance in the period since 1945 give an example and strength to current generations. Guided by the value of Hungarian history, we labor toward the construction of a modern, effective, and humanitarian socialist society. The favorable international conditions that have come into being for the consistent realization of our aspirations have made it possible for us to seek paths of renewal of the socialist social order in practically the same direction as that of the Soviet policy of restructuring.

Over the past more than 4 decades, a system of relations encompassing all areas of life has developed; it unites our countries, peoples, and parties with a thousand threads of cooperation. Of extreme importance to Hungary are the union and the dynamic development of our ties with the Soviet Union on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. We are concerned about improving our relations, having freed them of all that encumbered them in the past.

Our party and the Hungarian public have followed the activity directed toward the revelation of the potential opportunities and the strengthening of the nature of the socialist order in the Soviet Union, the heightened welfare of the Soviet people, with great sympathy and hope. We support the new Soviet thinking in foreign policy, and actively participate in the development of the favorable tendencies gaining strength in international life, and the irreversible nature conferred upon it.

For the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the peoples of the Soviet Union, with all our hearts we wish further successes on the path of the policy of restructuring and the renewal of the socialist social order.

[Signed] Karoly Grosz, general secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
Bruno F. Straub, president, Presidential Council, Hungarian People's Republic
Miklos Nemeth, premier, Council of Ministers, Hungarian People's Republic

USSR Ties, Political Situation Viewed

PM0304143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Apr 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "April 4 Is Hungarian Liberation Day. Time of Hope"]

[Text] Budapest—The spring breeze wafts through gardens white with fragrant blossoms and jauntily beats against the stone of Gellert Hill, where a bronze woman in flowing draperies holds an olive branch in her outstretched hands. This symbol of Budapest, socialist Hungary, and Hungarian-Soviet friendship is imprinted in many people's memory.

All the good that has been done for the sake of the people and our friendship must not be forgotten. Hungary has reason to be proud. When wreaths are laid at the liberation monument in honor of the holiday, people's thoughts turn not only to the past but also to the future. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] is endeavoring at ever-increasing rates of renewal to rid itself of the ballast that slowed the country's movement in the past, rectify mistakes, and rally all progressive forces around the program to renew society.

People's thoughts are now connected with present and future concerns, which have, admittedly, not been relieved of all tensions. Life is helping Hungarians realize more clearly that these concerns coincide in many essential features with our country's concerns and that Soviet people's orientation toward change for the better and their wish to travel to the end of this road are firm and uncompromising.

The fact that four MSZMP Central Committee plenums have been held in the last 2 months is unprecedented. The new Constitution, political pluralism, freedom of assembly and demonstration, the formation of new public associations, analysis of the historical reasons for the lag, the elaboration of a tactical MSZMP action program, freedom of platforms within the party, questions of political glasnost, and laws on information—even this incomplete list of the topics under discussion on which decisions have been adopted eloquently speaks for itself.

Another three plenums will be held in the April-June period. There are plans for the June enlarged plenum to have the significance of a party conference.

The MSZMP's ideas have been backed up by legislative activity on the part of the parliament. Thus there is dynamism not only in life itself, but also in the activity of the party, which is endeavoring to rebuff any attacks by extremist elements calling into question all past achievements and the tested values of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. The MSZMP's political opponents want and are endeavoring to dismantle rather than renew socialism.

This is the first time since the liberation and the tragic fall of 1956 that Hungarian communists have encountered such an activation of bourgeois ideology within society, sometimes displayed in acute forms, and outbreaks of nationalism.

While actively opposing the real weaknesses of the system and taking account of the opposition, the MSZMP has at the same time not slackened its efforts to create a state based on the rule of law and a political system that expresses the will of the entire people and guarantees freedom for the individual and human rights.

The aim has been set of renewing socialism on the basis of broad democracy. That is an aim that is appealing to many alternative organizations and leftist and social-democratic forces with which the 800,000-strong MSZMP sees a possibility of long-term alliance and coalition.

At one time I wrote a great deal about the total collectivization implemented in the Republic in the countryside with the use of land rent. In "tandem" with the private sector, cooperatives and state farms have filled granaries and store shelves and produce weighty exports. An MSZMP Central Committee plenum recently put forward an idea for laws giving cooperative workers fresh opportunities to make flexible use of the land, utilize private and family forms of labor, and engage in competition.

The foundation laid in the Hungarian cooperative movement in 1958-1961, both in the countryside and in the cities, and also the changes following the 1968 reform are now also helping the country stand its ground, enabling it to engage in a new quest and in dynamically overcoming difficulties, and protecting it from price upheavals on the world market.

This year the country is preparing to once again endure soaring prices (inflation is running at 12 percent, but this is less than in the past), the pressure of the foreign debt (credit should total $400-500 million), and a reduction in industrial structures tailored to strict market requirements (the increase in GNP will drop to the "zero" mark). It will scarcely prove possible to overcome the lag behind the advanced world level in the next few years, but the MSZMP and the government have firm programs for forward movement and are following them. That is why people have hopes for the future.

..."Caterpillar" and "Komatsu" tractors have long worked at the open pit coal mines in the Matra Mountains. But last October a Soviet T-330 from the Cheboksary plant appeared alongside them. The "Cheboksary" tirelessly worked three shifts in the quarry. Eighteen Hungarian specialists were trained to work on it.

"The qualities demonstrated by the Soviet tractor made it possible to sign a contract for the delivery of another 11 T-330's," I was told at Budapest's "Traktoroeksport" technical center. "The mine management stated that U.S. machines will be replaced by Soviet ones—T-330's and the even more powerful T-550—over the next 3-5 years. Fifty of these tractors will be needed."

Attention has been drawn to this information for the simple reason that there are still few such items of news. The ineffective structure of Soviet exports to Hungary is the burden of the past: Whereas in 1980 machines and equipment totalled only 22 percent of overall exports (the rest was fuel and raw materials), in the mid-1980's this indicator dropped to 11-12 percent.

Of course, Hungarian-Soviet ties also have to their credit agreements that have provided Hungary with aluminum and boosted the development of such well known major enterprises as the "Raba" motor building enterprise, the "Ikarusz" bus enterprise, the "Videoton" electronic enterprise, the "Tungsram" electric light enterprise, the "Ganz-Danubius" shipbuilding enterprise, and the "Medikor" medical enterprise...

Joint ventures are now entering their ranks: The number of direct contracts between the two countries' enterprises is increasing (they now number 240). Direct production exchange and the quest for labor collectives must considerably enrich and influence growth in commodity turnover, which is at present declining, in particular due to the decrease in prices for energy sources.

A course has been set toward new approaches in settlements: real prices (based on world prices), exchange rates, and convertible currency are terms that are constantly heard here. Specialists must decide how quickly they are to be brought into operation. But one thing is clear: We must not lose what we have gained; we must persistently expand the market.

"Hungary's cooperation with socialist countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, is not only a political principle, but also the basic condition for the functioning of the Hungarian economy," Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, said at a meeting with the directors of enterprises involved in Hungarian-Soviet cooperation. "This cooperation can be developed only on the basis of mutual interest and with a steady increase in effectiveness."

The recent working visits to Moscow by party and government leaders K. Grosz and M. Nemeth met with a great response in Hungary. During conversations with M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov, questions of improving socialism and making fuller use of the accumulated experience of social transformations and key problems of cooperation were touched on.

...The liberation monument on Gellert Hill is also a symbol of peace. Hungarian foreign policy is geared toward seeking the construction materials to erect an "all-European home." Hungarian diplomats and statesmen are doing a great deal to ensure that the olive branch lifted in 1945 also overshadows the Helsinki process and its dynamics.

As a member of the Warsaw Pact, Hungary is implementing initiatives to the benefit of all socialist countries. Along with the Soviet Union, it is reducing its Armed Forces and military budget, looking to a lasting peace and the future.

"Political ties between Hungary and the Soviet Union are at a high level"—that is how many journalists now sum up their pieces about Soviet-Hungarian cooperation. This also conveys an appeal for painstaking work to reinforce our cooperation. Today is a time of great concerns and strenuous work and a time of good changes.

1919 Hungarian Soviets, Rakosi Regime Recalled

PM2303102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "The Red Banners of March. On the 70th Anniversary of the Proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic"]

[Excerpts] Budapest—[passage omitted] For the first time in the entire history of the Hungarian state, the [Hungarian] Soviet Republic granted equal political rights to working people of all the nationalities that had lived on the country's territory for centuries. Every nation was given opportunities for broad self-management. In this respect, the Soviet Republic went further than the 1848 revolution.

But major mistakes were unavoidable. All enterprises employing more than 20 workers were indiscriminately nationalized, and the pace of socialization was faster than in Soviet Russia during the first 6 months following the October Revolution. The state expropriated large land holdings, agricultural cooperatives were set up everywhere, but... there was no proper agrarian reform: The land was simply not distributed among the poor peasantry.

The lessons of the past are always topical. Today, when some representatives of organizations in opposition to the MSZMP deny the socialist gains, when they single out just Lajos Kosuth's bourgeois-democratic revolution from the entire Hungarian revolutionary process and ignore the social transformations in 1945-1948 and the stages of Hungarian reform between the sixties and eighties, one can understand how important it is to consult the facts of history time and again. [passage omitted]

Back in 1945, Matyas Rakosi's clique organized what Hungarian political scientists now call "concept trials": Rakosi was suspicious of anyone who had been in the underground. Numerous honest communists, Janos Kadar among them, and many Social Democrats fell victim to arbitrary rule during the personality cult years. An anthology of documents on the trumped-up trial of Pal Demen and conversations with him has only just been published.

"Young people often ask me: Do I still believe in October, in the behests of the Hungarian Commune, and in communism, although I spent 11 years in jail under Rakosi and after the exposure of Stalin's crimes?" Pal Demen became somewhat pensive. "I believe that we will overcome the enormous difficulties that have emerged, that the party will renew itself, and that everything of genuine value accumulated in the Soviet Union and the communist movement since November 1917 will inevitably display itself with renewed vigor. As for restructuring—both in our own country and in the Soviet Union—it is truly revolutionary."

SED-CPSU Accord on Agricultural Management

LD0704133389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0928 GMT 7 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—A joint program for the further deepening of relations and exchange of experiences on questions of the party's management of agriculture has been agreed upon between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the CPSU.

The relevant document was signed in Moscow by Helmut Semmelmann, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the SED Central Committee Agriculture Department, and Ivan Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department.

An SED delegation, which ended a 5-day visit to the Soviet Union today, had talks in the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department, the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, the Ternopol CPSU Oblast Committee of the CPSU, and several enterprises of the agro-industrial complex.

Culture Minister, Romanian Envoy Attend Soiree

PM0704101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Bard of Popular Life"]

[Excerpts] The creative work of Iona Kryange, a classical writer of Moldavian and Romanian literature, is imbued with ardent love for the working people. A ceremonial soiree held 5 April in Moscow's House of the Unions' Hall of Columns was devoted to the 150th anniversary of the birth of this master of the written word. [passage omitted]

The following attended the soiree: V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture; V.K. Yegorov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; a Moldavian delegation headed by N.F Bondarchuk, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee; and also I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR.

USSR Afghan Veterans Rehabilitated in Prague

18010545 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by Col P. Chernenko: "According to the Laws of Mercy"]

[Text] The first group of former soldier-internationalists has arrived at the rehabilitation centers of Czechoslovakia.

The guests were cordially greeted by representatives of the Central Group of Forces, the USSR Embassy in Czechoslovakia, and the Socialist Youth Union who expressed the hope that they would be on their feet soon and walk the land firmly. There is a reason for this wish. The visitors are Category I invalids who have lost both legs in combat.

The "Afghans" are not dispirited, and they have found their niche in life. Georgiy Berdznishvili, a former scout, has graduated from the Moscow Institute of the National Economy, and is working as an economist. Yevgeniy Lyapin, a former artillery platoon commander, is a candidate of philosophy, a college instructor. Maj Aleksandr Grin is a department chief at the Kalininskiy Rayon Military Commissariat of Moscow. All three have been decorated with the Order of the Red Star. They have overcome many problems, but there is one bothering them: They are having difficulty moving about on artificial limbs.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union came up with the concept of providing sophisticated treatment for Soviet soldiers who were wounded and crippled in Afghanistan. It gained the support of the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Health Care of Czechoslovakia. To this end, rehabilitation centers for Soviet soldier-internationalists were created in Prague, Bratislava, and Banska Bistrica. The best Czechoslovak physicians and specialists in the field of orthopedics will help them get used to the artificial limbs that are noted for being very practical and long-lasting.

The Prague rehabilitation center will receive 23 "Afghans" very soon. Bratislava and Banska Bystrica expect the arrival of 20 Soviet guests. A total of more than 200 former soldier-internationalists will stay at Czechoslovak rehabilitation centers.

Bulgarian Research Ship Arrives in Odessa

18200300 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by F. Zinko: "'Akademik' Studies the Black Sea"]

[Text] A scientific research vessel belonging to the Oceanologic Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences has arrived in Odessa. This is a former Soviet fishing trawler, re-equipped and renamed "Akademik." Despite its modest dimensions, the ship is outfitted with the most up-to-date scientific equipment.

Bulgarian scientists hope to establish contact with Soviet colleagues of the Odessa branch of the State Oceanographic Institute. A long-term joint research program of the Odessa, Burgasskiy, and Varnenskiy gulfs has been planned. Its mission is to save the sea from pollution.

Albanian Occupation Anniversary Noted

PM0704103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by G. Mitkevich: "Black April of 1939"]

[Excerpts] Fifty years ago, on 7 April 1939, the inhabitants of Albania's coastal cities—Durres, Vlore, Sarande, and Shengjin—were awoken at dawn by the boom of artillery fire, the roar of aircraft, and the explosions of shells and bombs. Fascist Italy had attacked its neighbor, landing assault forces in the Albanian ports. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union resolutely condemned the seizure of Albania by Fascist Italy. In May 1939 I.M. Mayskiy, Soviet representative at the League of Nations, put forward the proposal to discuss the question of Italy's unprovoked aggression against Albania. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union actively supported the Albanian people's national liberation struggle. In December 1942 the Soviet Government issued a special statement "On Albania's Independence," in which it welcomed the Albanian patriots' struggle and once more stressed that "it does not recognize any claims by Italian imperialism to Albanian territory and wishes to see Albania liberated from the fascist aggressors' yoke and its independence restored."

After Fascist Italy's capitulation in September 1943, Albania was invaded by Hitler's forces, against whom the Albanians offered stubborn resistance. In the fall of 1944 the Albanian national liberation army went decisively on the offensive and 29 November completely cleared the country of the fascist aggressors.

Focusing today on the events of those years, when the Albanian people were the victims of fascist aggression, it should be stressed that Soviet people have always nurtured feelings of sincere sympathy for the Albanian people. They remember well their selfless struggle against fascism and for the establishment of the power of the people and the socialist transformation of society. The Soviet working people have never considered normal the estrangement that arose at the beginning of the 1960's between our countries. They are convinced that movement toward each other in the search for mutually acceptable ways to restore normal relations between the Soviet Union and Albania would accord with both our peoples' interests and with the cause of peace and socialism.

West Europe

Swiss Defense Chief Continues USSR Visit

Meets With Lukyanov, Yazov

LD1204213989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1647 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Apr (TASS)—Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin today Kaspar Villiger, federal counsellor and chief of the Federal Military Department of Switzerland, who is in Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, who also took part in the conversation.

Anatoliy Lukyanov, welcoming the guest, noted that his visit is seen within the context of the tendency toward broadening and strengthening Soviet-Swiss relations, which are ever more clearly being revealed within the context of striving toward greater mutual understanding and trust. He spoke of the work being carried out in the Soviet Union to renew all spheres of society, of the economic reforms, and of the progress of the political reform. His collocutor's attention was drawn to the USSR's large-scale constructive steps in the international arena in the spirit of the new political thinking, to questions of ensuring peace, security, and detente on the European Continent.

Kaspar Villiger expressed satisfaction at the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union and familiarize himself with the changes taking place in it. He said that in Switzerland people are following with great interest the realization of the ideas of restructuring, which are also having a weighty effect on the international situation as a whole. Within the framework of its potentialities, Switzerland will assist the all-European process and the growth of trust and cooperation on the continent.

The sides spoke for the continuation and development of the Soviet-Swiss political dialogue, including through the channels of the military departments, for the activization of trade and economic relations while their new forms are being perfected, and for expanding cultural contacts.

Discusses Disarmament With Petrovskiy

LD1204180389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Apr (TASS)—Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, today met with Kaspar Villiger, federal counsellor and chief of the Federal Military Department of Switzerland, at the USSR Foreign Ministry. An exchange of views took place on fundamental questions of the development of the military-political situation in Europe and in the world as a whole. A great deal of attention was devoted to the negotiations on conventional forces and the negotations on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, which resume in May in Vienna.

Views Yazov Talks, Visit to Airbase

LD1304051989 Moscow TASS in English 0500 GMT 13 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 13 TASS—"For us the present visit to the USSR is a possibility to explain the policy of Switzerland in the field of security and to get more information about the restructuring in the Soviet Armed Forces," Caspar Villiger, head of the Federal Military Department of the Swiss Confederation, said today before flying from Moscow to Leningrad. The head of the Swiss Military Department is staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Soviet defence minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov.

In assessing his talks with the Soviet minister, Caspar Villiger told TASS correspondent Boris Zverev that they have been open and friendly. It is natural that the positions of the parties did not coincide on some of the issues, Caspar Villiger said. And it was not the aim to achieve a common view, it was simply an exchange of views. Now it is the time of the first contacts between the USSR and Switzerland in the military field and so it is important to get to know each other better.

Caspar Villiger has never been to the Soviet Union before. Nevertheless, as he stressed, the changes at work in the USSR were of great interest to him. "The impression we have formed," he said, "is that these changes are heading in the right direction. Of course, we are aware of the large scope of the tasks the Soviet people will have to tackle but we hope that the restructuring policy will be a success."

In addition to meeting Soviet officials, Caspar Villiger's programme included visits to the general staff military academy, the Air Force guarrison in Kubinka (near Moscow). "We have received a lot of information. The demonstration by a MiG-29 of its possibilities was impressive. Everything was interesting and in the spirit of openness. A few years ago this would probably have been impossible," the high guest from Switzerland said.

In conclusion Caspar Villiger expressed satisfaction with his visit. "Already now I can say that I understand your problems better than before. In my view, this is very important," said the head of the Federal Military Department of the Swiss Confederation.

Karpov, Spanish Official Discuss Disarmament

LD1204200489 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—Soviet-Spanish consultations on disarmament matters were held in the Soviet Foreign Ministry on 11 and 12 April. On the Soviet side the consultations were conducted by Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov and, on the Spanish, by Carlos Miranda, general director of the Department of International Security and Disarmament of the Spanish Foreign Ministry.

USSR-UK Summit Has 'Profound Effect' on Ties

PM1204142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4

[T. Kolesnichenko, A. Maslennikov dispatch: "Dialogue Is Developing. PRAVDA Special Correspondents Report"]

[Text] London, 7 Apr—Late Thursday night the presenter of a current affairs program on one of the local television channels wound up with the words "spokoynoy nochi" [good night] in Russian, stressing, as it were, the focus on the "Russian theme" and the tremendous interest evoked here by the Soviet-British summit. Today the summit is receding into history, becoming the topic of numerous reviews, commentaries, and analyses. Their common denominator is, above all, recognition of the incontrovertible fact that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Great Britain was an important event that had a profound effect both on bilateral Soviet-British relations and the international situation as a whole.

The Soviet-British summit confirmed that the development of relations between the two countries is following an upward trend and that the summit made it possible to raise these relations to a new, higher level. As M. Thatcher put it—"relations between the USSR and Great Britain are better now than they have been at any time since World War II." One can only agree with this. There are plenty of reasons for such an appraisal: the deepening and expansion of the political dialogue being conducted at all sorts of levels; the development of trade and economic ties; and exchanges between representatives from the spheres of culture, science, and sports. In the course of the current visit, which centered on fundamental, key issues of European and world politics, attention was also focused on our relations with Britain and the development of bilateral ties.

In the course of the visit a number of documents were signed. They included an agreement on the encouragement and mutual protection of capital investments, a memorandum of mutual understanding on the issuance of visas to the two countries' citizens, and a memorandum on the construction of a school for 400 students in Leninakan. Soviet-British trade and economic relations were also given a boost. Speaking at Lancaster House at a meeting with representatives of British business circles, M.S. Gorbachev invited the British businessmen to show more enterprise. His appeal to act according to the principle "boldness conquers all" has been taken up here. So, five specific deals, which taken together are worth 300 million pounds sterling, have been concluded here for the production in the USSR of washing machines, the construction of chemical enterprises and hotels, and equipment for the food and printing industry.

Good longer-term prospects have also emerged. So, for instance, the Rolls-Royce company, a leader in the production of aircraft engines and industrial power plants, has drawn up a contract totalling around 1.3 million pounds sterling for participation in deliveries of equipment to our gas industry. There are also other contracts, but they have not yet reached the final stage. An obvious impediment in the development of bilateral trade (and this was openly stated by the Soviet side in the course of the visit) are the restrictions and discriminatory measures applied by the West to the USSR.

It must also be mentioned that the prospects of Soviet-British trade depend to a considerable degree on the expansion of Soviet exports to Britain of machinery, equipment, industrial goods, and materials that meet modern world standards. There is a considerable potential for exchanges of goods and services in the so-called nontraditional spheres, including uranium and rare-earth metals enrichment and transit shipments. The Soviet Union is proposing expanded cooperation in the utilization of space equipment. The USSR is interested in supplying natural gas to the British market. Experts believe that the most promising spheres of Soviet-British trade and economic cooperation are power engineering, communications, chemical industry, the agro-industrial complex, machine building, and environmental protection.

It is very important to note that the visit revealed the great popularity of the transformations currently taking place in our country. The words "perestroyka" and "glasnost" are not only not translated into English, but have become the symbol of the revolutionary changes inside our country and of real progress in international affairs. M. Thatcher, too, expressed this view, describing restructuring as a "peaceful revolution." The fact that the British prime minister believes in the success of our transformations speaks for the increased prestige of restructuring, and indicates that it can no longer be ignored, but must be firmly taken into account in future relations with our country. This truth rang out with new force from London, and there is cause to believe that it has reached other world capitals, too.

The most urgent problems of international life were discussed here during the Soviet leader's stay on British soil. Journalists have calculated that the British prime minister dwelt on seven main problems. M. Thatcher highly assessed Soviet proposals to cut military arsenals to the level of defense sufficiency. She also welcomed the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, which was carried out strictly on schedule, the course toward strengthened cooperation within the framework of the United Nations, the approach to the solution of regional conflicts, progress in the humanitarian sphere, and, last but not least, the primacy of universal human values in foreign policy. On all these problems the Soviet-British dialogue was deepened and resulted in an expansion of collaboration between our countries. Naturally, differences remain, especially in the conceptual approach to nuclear weapons and the modernization of nuclear weapon systems in Europe. However, we have learned not to dramatize these differences. In the end, life itself will resolve this dispute. After all, more and more Britons believe their country will acquire greater security if nuclear weapons ultimately disappear from the face of the earth.

The meetings in London especially highlighted the fact that the improvement in Soviet-British relations taking place before our very eyes reflects and simultaneously reinforces the general improvement in the international atmosphere and the emergence of new, more productive East-West collaboration as a whole.

It has been admitted here that the democratization of all aspects of life in the USSR and the policy of the new thinking—which are changing the political, economic, and social landscape not just in our own country, but also opening up unprecedented prospects for the whole world—have acted as a powerful stimulus toward this. Many local observers are emphasizing this in their first analyses of the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit and its impact on international politics. "There is a widespread sense," L. Freedman, the well-known British political scientist and specialist on military and strategic questions, writes in the newspaper THE INDEPENDENT, "that we have reached a crucial stage and that all that was considered unrealistic has become entirely feasible, especialy in Europe. And one reason for this is, of course, M.S. Gorbachev's policy. The vigorous changes in the USSR's domestic and foreign policy have introduced dynamism and imparted new impetus to the entire system of international relations."

The thought that the Soviet restructuring in all its key aspects is not just a national but also an international phenomenon was cogently expounded in the speech the Soviet guest delivered in London's Guildhall, and his speech attracted enormous attention here. There was something symbolic in the fact that it was here, under the roof of this medieval palace which by its very architecture and the ceremonies held here seems destined to act as the custodian of age-old traditions, that the powerful appeal rang out to reinterpret rapidly changing realities, renounce attempts to uphold narrow egoistic interests and resolve international problems from a position of strength, and create a united and profoundly interdependent world in which tranquility and order can be based only on the principles of freedom of choice, responsibility, and full account of the legitimate interests of all states and peoples.

The Soviet leader's speech, which was imbued with concern for the future of mankind and readiness to do everything to safeguard it, was a kind of culmination of the visit, imparting to it the ring of a major international event, beyond the framework not only of bilateral relations but of European politics as a whole.

"Meetings between the leaders of such major and influential states as the Soviet Union and Great Britain cannot be judged merely by the specific agreements signed during such visits," Admiral J. Eberle, director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, told us. "The main thing is their political and philosophical content and in-depth exchange of opinions on major problems of the present times. And if such a dialogue leads to greater mutual understanding and readiness for cooperation, as was the case, in my opinion, on this occasion, then it is of great benefit not just for the participants themselves but the world as a whole."

The development of Soviet-British relations in recent years gives us every reason to hope for positive changes also in the future. Summing up the results of the meetings held in London, we would like to express the wish that these hopes may come true.

The visit has ended. The intensive talks and the Soviet leader's meetings with politicians, businessmen, and ordinary British people are over. Entering history, this event will continue to attract attention for a long time. Britain is now closer to us and we understand it better. The same can be said about the attitude toward us on the British Isles. And what can be more valuable than the strengthening of trust between peoples!

French Defense Minister's Visit, Ties Viewed

PM1104135189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with French Defense Minister J.P. Chevenement on aircraft en route to Murmansk and Volgograd by Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov: "J.P. Chevenement: 'We Must Travel a Complex Path'"]

[Text] The Moscow itinerary for French Defense Minister J.P. Chevenement's visit to our country was so full that it turned out that I could only have a substantive talk with him during his flights to Murmansk and Volgograd. That is why it was by no means for the sake of originality that it took place beyond the clouds, so to speak.

Mr Chevenement appeared at the bar where the journalists were seated 30 minutes after takeoff. He first sat down next to one of my French colleagues and then next to another. Then he leaned over the seat of a third, rather obstructing the gangway. Actually, this did not trouble many people, especially not the French, who were continuously scurrying about the aircraft, talking, and obviously paying no attention to the presence of the eminent boss. It occurred to me that it will probably be a long while yet before we rid ourselves of the cult of deference to rank that has been perfected in our country over decades, and by no means because someone is imposing it on us "from above" but simply by virtue of the habit that has entered into our blood of being afraid in front of "the bosses," of avoiding them, and most especially of not worrying them with various questions.

I have frequently covered talks between the USSR defense minister and foreign delegations, but the idea of asking to attend them never even occurred to me. I had grown accustomed to the fact that it was not done. And I approached Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister. "I am surprised you have not made such requests before," Mikhail Alekseyevich said. "There should always be a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent here." I remember I replied that I was not bold enough. And I was perjuring myself. I was bold enough, but as you can see I was more than ready to follow rules that seemed set in concrete.

Thus it was for the first time that I found myself at talks, which on this occasion the USSR defense minister was having with the French defense minister. Attending them was useful not only from the viewpoint of familiarizing myself with the mechanism for comparing positions and the sides' system of arguments; it also considerably facilitated the task of preparing for my forthcoming talk with Mr Chevenement, on which we had agreed immediately after the end of the talks.

It emerged that the French defense minister had not forgotten the agreement. Our talk took place after visiting Severomorsk and Murmansk. And my first question was why the minister had chosen to visit Murmansk, Severomorsk, and Volgograd.

"There is a large Soviet naval base in Murmansk, or to be more precise in Severomorsk," he replied. "We know what efforts it cost the Soviet Union to create a powerful modern fleet. And I was able to talk with your admirals, officers, and sailors

"As for Volgograd, it was here that the most outstanding battle of World War II took place. The French people, like many other peoples, are indebted to the people of the Soviet Union and their Armed Forces. And, by visiting Volgograd, I wanted to honor the memory of those who, by their boldness and resolve, were able to win that war. Even if we may have different approaches toward the assessment of some events, we should not forget that historic event. The joy that encompassed all France when we received news of that victory..."

Of course, in these notes I cannot describe all the subjects we touched on in one way or another during the talk. But I received sufficiently full and convincing answers to all questions. Actually, that is not surprising. The minister answered them at sight, so to speak. The problems of reducing military confrontation in Europe were, of course, the main theme of the talk. Recalling that during the talks the French defense minister had on several occasions mentioned the need to create the dynamics of disarmament, I asked him to explain the term.

"I believe," Mr Chevenement said, "that treaties concluded in some fields can give rise to a chain reaction involving the conclusion of treaties in other fields. You cannot deny that the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles created a favorable political atmosphere for the continuation of talks in the field of arms reduction. But dynamics are something more complex. Everyone knows that, alongside the disarmament talks, there are programs for creating and modernizing arms. It would be a good thing if arms spending stopped growing. We must promote the dynamics of disarmament by consistently resolving the tasks facing us in this connection..."

[Kocherov] What are your forecasts for the results of the Vienna talks which, as is well known, are devoted to disarmament questions?

[Chevenement] I believe that the very fact that these talks are being held is already positive. Their aim is to prevent the start of a sudden war. We must reduce the quantity of offensive weapons. Then we must reduce the long-term programs for developing arms, reduce arms stocks, reduce stocks of rear services equipment. Of course, there are problems here. For instance, we have different methods of counting military equipment. But the statement M. Gorbachev made in the United Nations can promote the elimination of existing asymmetries.

[Kocherov] At the talks, Mr Minister, you said France has renounced the arms race in space, but what about in the air? The French press recently published a report that your country's Air Force has switched to subordination to the NATO Air Command System. The opinion is being voiced that this is the evidence of France's return to the NATO military organization. Is that the case?

[Chevenement] In no way. The only thing we wanted is to possibly coordinate our neighbors' air warnings systems with those in France. The point is that air space in West Europe is very limited, just a few hundred kilometers. But we decided that if such a decision is made it should be approved by the entire nation. And that in no way means that our right to make independent military decisions will be put in doubt. On the contrary. But our position with regard to NATO will not change. We do not and will not belong to the NATO countries' military organization. And, as General de Gaulle once said, France will never want to be drawn into a war which is not its war.

[Kocherov] General de Gaulle, while a military man, was at the same time president of France. French Defense Minister Chevenement is a civilian. How can that be explained?

[Chevenement] Clemenceau said war is too serious a matter to entrust to the military. But in general I believe that it is no bad thing when a new view, a new man, appears in all fields. The ancients used to say that the sword should give way to the toga. I believe defense questions today are even more politicized than they used to be. The main problem is determining how we shall avoid using our weapons. And it seems to me that in this field civilians can display no less talent than the military. [Chevenement ends]

Listening to our conversation, the journalists greeted this reply with knowing smiles although, in my view, Clemenceau's statement was very contradictory. After all, he himself, despite being a politician, was one of the organizers of the anti-Soviet intervention and a fierce militarist. So in that case, to whom can you entrust military affairs—to politicians alone?

Later I had a talk on the same topic with Philippe Alexandre, chief editor of the well-known Radio-Tele Luxembourg radio and television corporation, who was accompanying the defense minister on his tour of the Soviet Union. He said that "in a truly democratic country the primacy of civil power over military power is natural." In France it is believed that the army is dumb and has no right to a voice. As far as I understood, Philippe did not have in mind the military's participation in elections. He was speaking of the impossibility of the military's participation in resolving general state affairs.

Yet Mrs N. Chevenement—the French defense minister's wife—turns out to adhere to the absolutely opposite opinion about the military. When I asked whether her husband's new post suited her, she said that throughout the preceding years she had had dealings mainly with politicians. But now, again thanks to her husband, she had become acquainted with the military milieu, with quite young, pleasant people. They have a high sense of duty, honor, and exactingness, N. Chevenement said. The wife of the French defense minister is a psychologist and works in a psychoneurological clinic and studies questions of mental health. "We have two children, boys of 14 and 15," she told me...

The French defense minister is a man with a broad outlook. He was once minister of scientific research and industry and national education. That is why it was no accident that during his visit he displayed a lively interest in questions of our country's cultural, economic, and political life. He described how during a meeting with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, he had discussed the role of parliaments in countries' lives and forms of organizing elections. I believe, the French defense minister said, that the future belongs to those states and political systems that trust their citizens. We must travel a complex path for that. And your leaders have had the boldness to embark on this path. I sincerely wish this policy success.

To be honest, I wanted least of all to seek a subplot in that phrase. The interest Mr Chevenement displayed in the progress of the election campaign in our country was, I think, sincere. I was present during his talk with V.I. Kalashnikov, first secretary of the Volgograd Obkom party committee, during which the French guest asked lively questions about the number of deputies nominated in the oblast, the reasons for the nonelection of those who had failed to gather the necessary number of votes, and the demands people made on their elected representatives. All this attested to the obvious pragmatic interest of the French defense minister, who will soon have to undergo trial by election.

God grant, as they say, that our country should continue to discuss with France only problems of improving the work of their parliaments and economic and cultural cooperation. But in our interlinked and interdependent world, the problem of trust, the resolution of which is being curbed by military confrontation, is, many politicians believe, the most complex and painful problem. To a direct question to one of the journalists as to whether the French believe that our country is threatening them, the journalist replied honestly—no.

The day we returned to Moscow from Volgograd was the day the French defense minister left for Paris. And whatever rich impressions the guests may have acquired during the visit, the visit's main aim remained the talks with the USSR defense minister.

"How do you assess their results?" I asked Brigadier General P. Vigla, defense attache at the French Embassy in the Soviet Union.

"In our view, the talks took place successfully," the general replied.

Before coming to an end, one more small interview. As we were already coming in to land in Moscow, I decided to put a question to a man who throughout the visit had remained in the shadows, had seemed to be the minister's shadow—his bodyguard.

"Do you believe that an an attack might be made on the minister?" I asked him.

"Yes," the shadow replied without a moment's thought.

"In the Soviet Union?"

"Not in the Soviet Union," came the firm reply.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Uneasy Situation in Georgia

Gorbachev Appeals to Georgians

LD1204174389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1608 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Tbilisi, 12 April (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to Communists and all the working people of Georgia has been circulated in Georgia's capital. The appeal says:

"Dear comrades and friends!

In these difficult hours I appeal to you, men and women, young men and young women, to your hearts, your civic feelings, and your patriotism. I appeal to you both out of duty—owing to my state and party duties—and as an individual who knows and holds in deep respect the history and traditions of the Georgian people and its lofty and noble qualities.

I would not hide that, of late, I have followed with alarm the development of events in Georgia. I know that the working people of the republic have accepted and supported the course towards restructuring with all their heart. The things that have happened in Tbilisi without a doubt damage the interests of restructuring, democratization, and renewal of the country. Decisions, acts, and deeds of irresponsible individuals have resulted in an increase in tension in the Republic. Anti-Soviet slogans and calls for severing socialist Georgia from the fraternal family of Soviet peoples have been voiced.

False bearings have confused some people. Unrest has occurred. People have died and innocent blood has been shed. The grief of mothers and relatives is immeasurable and our sorrow is profound.

Interests of the working people have nothing in common with attempts to break the ties of friendship and cooperation between our peoples which have taken shape, to eliminate the socialist system in the Republic, or to push it into the whirlpool of ethnic enmity. The pernicious nature of the road upon which those who support different views have embarked and are calling others, and the extreme danger of such actions, have been patiently explained to them.

Yes, in Georgia, as in other republics and throughout the country, there are a large number of difficult problems. We realize that much has to be done to resolve them. And we are already resolving them. Our common duty is to deepen and strengthen fraternal relations among peoples. But the restructuring of relations between nationalities does not mean a redrawing of borders or the break-up of the country's ethnic state structure [natsionalno-gosudarstvennoy ustroystvo]. We are resolutely opposed to this. We back the consistent expansion of the rights of the republics and all national formations and are in favour of them being filled with real content.

Loyalty to civic duty and a high degree of responsibility to one's people and to history are today required from Communists and every inhabitant of the republic. A blow must not be allowed to be dealt to the vital interests of any Soviet Republic, the brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR, and the cause of renewal.

The historical ties of the Georgian people, on the one hand, and the Russian people and other peoples of our country, on the other, go back centuries. The people of Georgia have won deserved respect and love in our multinational family. Their services to the revolutionary movement, their feat of arms in the Great Patriotic War, and their labor achievements are great.

We value the self-possession shown by the working class and the overwhelming majority of citizens of the republic during these difficult days. Realizing the difficulty of the situation, I believe with all my heart that, following the humanist traditions of the Georgian people, the Communists and working people of the republic will display prudence, common sense, and a high degree of responsibility, and that they will defend restructuring, our common socialist values, and our brotherhood and unity. The restoration of calm in Georgia depends on you, comrades. This is the moral duty of all who hold sacred the memory of their forefathers, who valued above all else peace and accord in their native land, all who think of their people and its future.

Patiashvili Offers Resignation; 19 Dead

LD1204144189 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] In Moscow the foreign Ministry Spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, has announced that the first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, Dzhumber Patiashvili, has volunteered to resign in connection with the developments in the capital, Tbilisi. The man maintains that a commander who has lost a major battle must take off his shoulder pieces. The Ministry spokesman said this decision had been accepted by the Georgians with sympathy as an act of an honest man. However, the issue has to be considered by the relevant party bodies, so Dzhumber Patiashvili remains in power so far.

In Tbilisi last Sunday, a number of extremist groups provokes clashes with army and and police units attempting to put an end to an illegal rally. A number of people were trampled down underfoot, some of them were killed and other injured.

After yet another girl died of injuries in a Tbilisi hospital on Wednesday, the number of victims [of Sunday's events] totalled 19.

Gennadiy Gerasimov refuted the allegations that soldiers had been using sappers spades as a weapons against citizens. A special commission has found not a single person among those injured having stab or cut wounds.

Now the situation in the city is quiet, though the residents are dissatisfied with the continuing curfew and tanks in the streets. All factories, shops, and public transport operate as usual. All higher educational institution are closed down, and secondary schools are half empty.

Gerasimov Gives News Briefing 12 Apr

LD1204181289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] The situation in Tbilisi was described at a news briefing today for Soviet and foreign journalists at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The briefing was conducted by Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Listen to what he said, in part:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] The situation in the city is normal, and the general background is normal. If one ignores the fact that there is a curfew and that there are tanks in the streets, then it can be said that life is going on normally. Shops are open. Institutions are operating. There are many motor vehicles in the streets. Today more vehicles than usual were running along the city's public transportation routes—more than the usual quota. There were 769 trolleys, streetcars, and buses. Needless to say, the metro is in operation. All enterprises are at work. At light industrial enterprises, staff turnout was 89-90 percent, since some women did not come to work. They stayed with their children. As for heavy industrial enterprises, there was a full turnout there—100 percent. Trading is normal, and, even though the population laid in stocks of essential items such as sugar and flour, shop supplies are normal. Thus the retail situation is just as it always is.

As far as crime is concerned, everyday crime is virtually zero. It is far less than on ordinary days. Yesterday there were isolated instances—I repeat, isolated instances—of picketing, threats and hooliganism. A total of 15 people were arrested and subjected to administrative punishment for public order offenses and threats against residents. As for the curfew, 163 people were arrested overnight, but, incidentally, the overwhelming majority consisted of those who had not yet received their passes. Twelve of those people were actually arrested and punished for deliberately violating the curfew. I want to emphasize that the curfew and its observation are monitored by joint patrols. They consist of repreentatives of the Army, the militia and the public. In other words, there is no confrontation between the Army and militia and the public. The workers themselves and the residents themselves are taking over the enforcement of order.

Unfortunately, yet another small girl died of her injuries, so that the list of martyrs [martirolog] now stands at 19. Family announcements of the deaths of their near ones have appeared in the local papers. That is the custom in Georgia—mourning notices saying that a family is grieving. The papers also publish the list of those who died as was announced on television by Georgia's minister of health. The causes of death are being investigated by a special commission, but, since there have been various false rumors—specifically, there are rumors to the effect that people died from entrenchment shovel blows—it was proposed that public representatives should, with the consent of the relatives of the deceased, carry out an external examination of the bodies. No wounds caused by chopping or stabbing were detected on them. They had been crushed to death.

To present a full picture I should add that, although all enterprises are working, all higher education establishments are not working. Higher education establishments are closed and there are no lectures. Schools are open but the rate of attendance by pupils is 40-50 percent.

The meeting of the leadership of the republic and also of comrades Shevardnadze and Razumovskiy with the members of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic took place yesterday. Grievances toward the leadership were voiced by the sides in a very poignant form. On the whole, the conversation was very tough, indeed. It has been decided that selected representatives of the public should be involved in the work of investigation agencies. The public itself will determine how it will select them. These representatives will be granted an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the documents of the investigation. Comrade Shevardnadze said at this session that we are interested in establishing the truth.

The city's inhabitants do not, of course, like that there is a curfew, that tanks and soldiers are in the streets, although they understand that this is, so far, inevitable. And this is how the question has been put at this meeting: If you, yourselves—the Georgians and Georgia—can take upon yourselves responsibility for maintaining order, then there will not be a single soldier. We do not need order with tanks. And when the question: Are you yourselves prepared to ensure order? was asked, nobody said yes. And thus, what still remains to be achieved is to consolidate public forces on the common platform of the protection of order.

Comrade Patiashvili, who spoke, requested to be released from the post of first secretary. He was responding to the criticism addressed to him. He voiced his personal desire. This does not mean that he resigned. And it is also possible to note the circumstance that his speech is being evaluated by many as a noble and bold one, as a step of a decent man and therefore symphaties toward him are arising among the public. In any case, this statement expresses Patiashvili's personal position and the question is being resolved according to our standard procedures in the appropriate party bodies.

In other respects, the situation is calm in the other towns of Georgia. [end recording]

Georgian Party Meets 12 Apr

LD1204180989 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 12 Apr 89

["Situation in Georgia Stabilising"—TASS headline]

[Text] Tbilisi April 12 TASS—Large crowds at bus, trolley-bus and tram stops could no longer be seen in Tbilisi today as transport services in the capital of the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Georgia have been restored to virtually normal levels.

Transportation personnel are themselves ensuring smooth mass transit operations in struggle with picketing.

Industry is running at full capacity as one hundred per cent of employees have reported to work at most factories.

All this is a result of joint efforts by party, local government and law-enforcement agencies, a number of worker collectives and representatives of many social organisations and of increased struggle with those attempting to prevent stabilisation.

The bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, meeting today, stressed the need to step up the work of party, local government and law-enforcement agencies with young people, most notably students.

It was stated that every communist today should go into the midst of the masses, take an active stand and make every effort to help normalise the situation by word and deed.

The meeting was attended by Eduard Shevardnadze, a full member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Politburo, and Georgiy Razumovskiy, an alternate Politburo member.

Shevardnadze Leads Georgian Meeting

LD1204205189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] The situation in the Georgian capital remains tense. Our special correspondent Yuriy Korotkov reports from Tbilisi:

[Korotkov] Today, in the first half of the day, a regular meeting of the bureau of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee was held. It was conducted by Comrade Shevardnadze. The discussion, in principle and without passion, was about the reasons for the tragedy which tok place on 9 April by Government House, about the situation which has arisen as a result of this, and about a most rapid introduction of order in the town.

At this moment, while you are listening to this bulletin, a new meeting is taking place at the Georgian Film Studio between Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and the republic's creative intelligentsia. The talk is about its role in the formation of public opinion and in awakening high morality and humanism, that is, the most elementary feelings and moods—it seems—which, alas, are now so lacking in many people.

It is true that efforts are being made in the town to lower the heat of passions, but it is very difficult to do this, the more so if one takes into account that the curfew, tanks, and armed soldiers on the streets of the town, to put it mildly, do not cause delight among the proud and independent Georgians. But this measure is a forced one and temporary, and the imposition of the curfew depends mainly on the citizens themselves. It has to be admitted that many people understand this and are doing everything possible in order to stabilize the situation.

However, there are people who don't take into account the requirements of the curfew, who do not submit to the patrols, create conflict situations, and make the life of the town more complicated. Thus in Gldani Rayon, in the housing estates of (Velisubani) and (Vaketili), during the night hooligan elements threatened the families of servicemen. In (Suburtarinskiy) Rayon, during the night, unknown persons threw bottles and stones at passing military vehicles. In (Reyelskiy) Rayon there were attempts to tear up leaflets with the text of the military commandant's appeal to the population of the town and in their place to stick up leaflets of an anti-Soviet nature. Scaffolding around the monument to the 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevskiy treaty was burnt down. Threats against bus and trolley drivers and demands to stop work were expressed. Interruptions are also being felt in supplies of foodstuffs to inhabitants of the town. Mainly this is explained by a sharp increase of purchases of goods by inhabitants because of the spread of rumors causing panic. Since the curfew went into effect, 163 persons and also 66 cars have been detained and handed over to the Ministry of Internal Affairs' bodies.

(?As you see), the situation is not a straightforward one, but tense.

Servicemen Criticized

PM1204111189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 89 First Edition p 4

[Report by Colonel N. Mulyar, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent, by telephone, under the headline: "On the Situation in Tbilisi"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 11 Apr—Despite the large amount of explanatory work done by party and soviet bodies, the situation in the city continues to be tense. The operations group attached to the headquarters of the Transcaucasus Military District keeps receiving reports that some buses and trolleybuses going out on their routes in the morning are being stopped by pickets of hooligan elements. Their drivers have been subjected to insults and been told to stop work. Such reports have come, in particular, from the Kakhetinskiy Highway and the Digomskiy and Gldanskiy residential areas. Extremists have made attempts to stop workers and employees and prevent them entering the gates of their enterprises at the Dimitrov Production Association, Kirov Machine Tool Building Plant, and others. But people are not giving in to the blackmail and threats of the leaders of informal associations. The majority of workers are conscientiously performing their duties at their enterprises.

In the city's Saburtalinskiy Rayon, slogans defaming soviet power have appeared on the walls of houses. Threatening leaflets are being received in the mail by the families of military servicemen.

The rumor that military personnel are to blame for the deaths outside Government House is going around the city. People are saying that this was their revenge for Stalin's crimes against the Russian people. As a result of this, attempts are being made to organize acts of provocation against servicemen. Yesterday, for example, at about 1330 hours, Major I. Sviridenko had stones hurled at him as he was coming out of the "Samgori" Metro Station and, on Moskovskiy Prospekt, Lieutenant Colonel M. Teselkin was hit on the head by a bottle thrown from the window of a house.

Attempts have also been made to artificially create shortages of goods in city stores. But the republic's Ministry of Trade has taken this matter strictly under control and there are now adequate quantities of goods available in the stores.

"In our rayon," Valeriy Aramovich Avalov, deputy chairman of Kirovskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee [rayispolkom], said in a conversation with me, "the fifth freight vehicle column has been established. Its vehicles are delivering goods to the stores. There have been no interruptions in this service, although some of the drivers have received threats. Our rayon is an international one. I think people correctly understand why a curfew has been imposed in the city. It has brought us calm and confidence."

But what do the servicemen think about this?

I went with Colonel V. Kochkin, deputy commandant for political affairs in one of the sections, to some of the posts, where we talked with the servicemen.

"People often come up to us," Sergeant O. Parkhun told us during our talk, "and start up a conversation. Most of them understand our task and support the special situation. But we also come across some people—mainly youngsters—who shout insults at us and then run away."

These days, a great deal of work is being done among the population and military personnel by officers from the military district's political directorate. In places where people have gathered, they enter into conversation with them and explain the situation that has taken shape. A series of appeals and leaflets has been prepared, which are being dropped over the city by helicopter. Everything possible is being done to maintain organized public order.

At the same time, various conferences with sector commandants and their deputies have greatly criticized law-enforcement bodies which, under the extreme conditions, are displaying passiveness and are failing to give an objective assessment of the situation, and are trying to gloss over its seriousness. Some members are themselves becoming the initiators of violations. For example, a militia first sergeant, driver of city motor vehicle inspectorate No 46-43, artificially created a traffic jam on Rustaveli Prospekt near Government House. When an attempt was made to detain him he fled.

The republic newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA has published a commentary by V. Sharashenidze, Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic minister of justice, "What the Curfew Means." Articles have been published by R. Salukvadze, corresponding member of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences and USSR people's deputy, USSR People's Artiste Ts. Tatishvili, and others under the rubric "In the Hour of Boundless Grief—Wisdom, Realism, Prudence." They explain the present situation and call for calm and good sense.

No excesses have been reported in the commandant sectors during the night. A total of 198 people and 16 vehicles have been detained for breaking the curfew. Two knives [yedinitsy kholodnogo oruzhiya] have been confiscated.

Rumors Hatching in Tbilisi

AU1204120289 Paris AFP in English 1147 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, April 12 (AFP)—Georgian party leader Dzhumber Patiashvili offered to resign as people in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital, braced themselves to bury 18 victims of nationalist riots, officials said Wednesday.

Tbilisi was still tense after Sunday's explosion of violence, and passions were running high ahead of the funerals planned for Thursday, said Besik Urigashvili of the Georgian communist youth daily MOLODIEZH GRUZII.

He told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that Mr. Patiashvili had tendered his resignation Tuesday to signal his readiness to bear the consequences of the bloodshed.

Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, a former Georgian party chief who cancelled a trip to East Germany to fly to Georgia after a clash between troops and nationalist demonstrators left at least 18 dead and 200 wounded on Sunday, said Mr. Patiashvili's offer would be examined, according to Mr. Urigashvili.

Mr. Urigashvili said officials had accepted a demand by Georgian representatives that a public fact-finding committee composed of people from outside the government be set up.

Representatives reportedly also called for snap elections and a special meeting of Georgia's parliament to look into the recent unrest. They said April 9 should be declared a day of mourning in Georgia.

They criticized the Moscow media for allegedly "biased and untruthful" reports on the situation in the southern Soviet republic.

"The centrally-(controlled) press does not say that people were killed in Tbilisi," Mr. Urigashvili said.

Reports of the circumstances that led to the death of 12 women and eight men are still highly controversial in a city where, according to Moscow press reports, many rumours have hatched.

Witnesses claimed that victims were killed or maimed by soldiers armed with shovels.

Mr. Urigashvili reported that the director of the Tbilisi Neurological Institute had told officials that the army had also used nerve gas on the demonstrators. [passage omitted]

Tbilisi Military Commandant Comments

LD1204161489 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Tbilisi April 12 TASS—The situation in the Georgian capital is controlled by local authorities and troops. The number of curfew violations has sharply reduced, the TASS correspondent was told by Colonel-General Igor Rodionov, appointed military commandant of Tbilisi.

"The curfew was imposed on the city from 9 April on a decision of the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet (Parliament) to maintain due order and to ensure normal functioning of transport, enterprises and organisations," Igor Rodionov said. "While by the morning of 11 April the patrols detained and turned over to Interior Ministry authorities 464 people for curfew violations, after that the curfew regime imposed was observed in most of the areas."

The general said that the operational situation was regularly reported to the press by the Office of the Military Commandant.

Correspondent Reports on Tbilisi Mood

LD1204223589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by special correspondent V. Flyarkovskiy in Tbilisi]

[Text] [Flyarkovskiy] Tbilisi, 12 April. Life in the city is gradually returning to normal. Agitated conversations are still going on and military equipment is still on the streets of the capital. However, contrary to assertions by Western radio, transport is moving freely along Prospekt Rustaveli, the main road in the city. Life is also flowing at a measured pace in the overwhelming majority of enterprises. True, not everything is absolutely clear yet; it is not totally clear to everybody. The whole chain of circumstances which led to the explosion of emotions, to precipitate actions, and to the tragic deaths has not yet been disentangled. However, it is obvious that every person wants to understand the situation and to contribute to normalization. [video shows general scenes; a group of people talking; a tank and three military trucks parked on a sidewalk; work in progress inside a factory]

It is break time at the Tbilisi aviation production association:

[Unidentified man] We're working. The whole city is working, the whole city.

[Second unidentified man] We're all working. Without work, there will be nobody left. Of course this must not happen. We, I mean the working people, our people, the intelligentsia [indistinct interjections] We give a guarantee.

[Flyarkovskiy] Let's assume that such a person, an extremist, crops up within your ranks, what will you say to him?

[Man] That nothing is ever achieved by such outbursts. Well, we shall call for a complete solution. [video shows large group of people in conversation]

[Flyarkovskiy] Meetings on the streets and at work places show clearly that the time has come when people are regaining their civic prudence and sobriety of opinion; when all the preconditions exist for finding ways out of the critical situation by common efforts. The republican government commission, which contains representatives of the public, academics, and workers, is continuing its work. One of the members of the commission is Irakliy Afinogenovich Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health. [video shows general street scenes; outside shot of health ministry; minister and correspondent inside office]

The commission has been working for 3 days so far. What can you say about the initial results?

[Menagarishvili] Well, first and foremost, I can say that the range of tasks which must be carried out by the members of the commission and by the group investigating the tragic events which occurred in Tbilisi several days ago, has been clearly defined. Work is being carried out by the republic's Ministry of Health on official medical inspections of the people who sustained injuries and of the corpses which have been delivered to the morgue for official medical examination. As far as I know, we have informed the commission about this, proceedings have been instituted by the procuracy, and investigations are underway.

[Flyarkovskiy] What, in your view, do people need to do now to make life return to normal as soon as possible?

[Menagarishvili] I believe that all reasonable people have definite views on this point. First and foremost, it is necessary, of course, to normalize the atmosphere in the city, to restore public order, and to restore the operations of all the vitally important facilities which have been paralyzed during these days. In parallel with that, it is categorically important to do two things: first, to investigate in an open [glasno] and principled manner everything which happened; and second, to try to draw the most serious political and organizational conclusions from everything which has happened right now, without any delay, because it is by no means an ordinary phenomenon.

[Flyarkovskiy] Whatever is done must be done within the framework of the constitution and the law.

[Menagarishvili] That is the only way; the only way and—I repeat once more—on the basis of a calm dialogue among people, who have different opinions; only on the basis of observing the principle of pluralism of opinions which we have proclaimed and without which a normal society cannot exist; and definitely on the basis of mutual respect. I feel that I am just uttering truisms but, and I repeat, no citizen has the right not to say this today.

Georgians Still 'Deeply Shocked'

PM1204154789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own special correspondent report: "On the Situation in Tbilisi"]

[Text] The mass media are keeping the inhabitants of Tbilisi and the republic informed in detail about everything that is happening. They are reporting on how enterprises, transport, and stores are functioning and note that the situation in the city's streets, and especially in outlying areas, is still uneasy. The newspapers give space to people of the most varied professions—a worker, an academician, a teacher, an actor. They report on the meeting of E.A. Shevardnadze and G.P. Razumovskiy with workers of the aviation industry association named for Dimitrov.

Here is another important press report: In connection with the tragic events, criminal proceedings have been instituted, an investigation is being conducted by the republic prosecutor's office, and the names of the arrested organizers of the disturbances at Government House have been given.

Lists of the names of those who died on the night of 8-9 April are also published. They now contain 18 names, two more having died in the hospital.

On 11 April, the day of mourning, the place where the tragedy happened was covered with flowers.

The most characteristic scenes of city life are people standing in line at newspaper stalls, groups of people crowding in front of bulletin boards, many young people wearing black armbands, few private cars as a result of hitches in the supply of gasoline, empty cafes, and closed movie theaters.

We have talked to people; everyone is deeply shocked at what has happened. And everyone wants life to return to normal as quickly as possible. They all believe that it is very important for the whole truth to be told about the tragedy and for the culprits to be punished without fail.

In the evening of 11 April another briefing was held at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, at which journalists were told about the situation in the capital as of the end of the day. Here are a number of details from my notebook.

In most of the city's higher educational establishments there were no lectures. Only one-third of pupils came to school. Only two enterprises— the "Stankostroitel" and the "Gruzselmash" production associations—were at a standstill. Transport services were still subject to disruptions. The subway, the airport, and the railroad station were functioning normally.

Here are two interviews which we obtained on the morning of 12 April.

Tbilisi City Soviet Executive Committee. Deputy Chairman D. Zambakhidze: On 10 April lines formed in front of bread stores. All kinds of rumors arose in this connection. Had deliveries decreased? No, it was merely that demand rose sharply, doubling in volume. Bearing this in mind, the following day 426 tonnes were brought in instead of the usual 280-290 tonnes. Supplies of dairy products, eggs, and flour are also higher than usual today. It is true that in the morning there are sometimes disruptions ensuing from misunderstandings at night patrol posts, as a result of which trucks are held up. This can happen even with special passes.

Transcaucasus Military District. Chief of Staff Lieutenant General V. Samsonov:

Yes, there was a problem to begin with. There were delays in providing a number of organizations with passes. Now all who need passes have them. As for any special stamps which, as you say, patrols are demanding from drivers, it is a misunderstanding and we will sort it out today.

[Correspondent] How did the night of 11-12 April pass?

[Samsonov] On the whole without any kind of conflict. There were no illegal incidents. Fewer people were detained during the curfew than on previous nights. There were reports of weapons being confiscated.

[Correspondent] In comparison with the first few days, there is noticeably less military hardware on the streets. Is this an initiative by the military?

[Samsonov] No matter whose initiative it is, the decision is taken by the commandant. He also answers for it. I think that people understand: Establishing order and getting life back to normal as quickly as possible is our common, desired aim.

Workers Rebuff Strike Calls

PM1204155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 First Edition p 6

["Own Information" report: "On the Events in Tbilisi"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The situation in Tbilisi is returning to normal. Industrial enterprises are operating normally. Attempts by groups of pickets to prevent people from going to work have failed. They have been rebuffed by worker's collectives. The city's transport workers refused assistance from administrative organs and managed by themselves to offer concerted resistance to those who were urging them to strike. As a result, 90 percent of the city's transport facilities were operating on time.

Naturally, the citizens are still disturbed by the events of 9 April and people are angry with those who brought them about. This, in particular, was the subject of yesterday's meetings between the collectives of the Tbilisi Dimitrov Aircraft Plant and the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences and E.A. Shevardnadze, G.P. Razumovskiy, and D.I. Patiashvili. They talked about the need to carefully investigate the events and analyze the causes. Matters should be organized in such a way that very soon there will no longer be any need for a curfew. The aircraft builders' collective appealed to all workers in the republic to back the program that has been devised to normalize the situation and overcome the crisis.

Situation 'Totally Under Control'

AU1304111089 Paris AFP in English 1058 GMT 13 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, April 13 (AFP)—The Soviet Georgian capital was reported to be getting back to work Thursday, even as the city prepared to bury the first of the 19 victims from last weekend's clashes between troops and nationalist demonstrators.

But the Soviet army daily said "extremists" were still strengthening their activities, while the Georgian youth party newspaper said its Thursday edition had been banned because of an account of the troubles it intended to publish.

Zurab Lomidze of the GRUZINFORM GEORGIAN news agency said that Tbilisi was "relatively normal" and that an "overwhelming majority" of factories were working normally.

He said the funerals would be held separately on Thursday, Saturday and Sunday as Georgia's Christian religion forbids funerals on Fridays. But a spokesman at the republic foreign ministry said all the ceremonies would be over by Saturday.

According to the Red Star army daily, "extremists elements are strengthening their activities" and "changing tactics" in Tbilisi.

It said groups of 15 to 20 individuals were "attempting to influence the population by throwing handwritten leaflets calling for strikes and spreading "different versions" of events in the Georgian capital.

Red Star affirmed, however, that the situation in Tbilisi was "totally under control."

Since the violence last Sunday, when government forces cleared pro-nationalist demonstrators from Tbilisi's central Lenin Square leaving 19 dead and 200 injured, authorities have said nearly 500 people had been detained for breaching a curfew.

Meanwhile, the Moldej Gruzii communist youth wing daily said its Thursday edition was banned because of a report of last weekend's events that was due to be published.

Deputy editor, Irina Kuparadze, said by telephone that the account was written by Yuri Rost, a journalist for the Moscow-based LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, who gave details of how the demonstrators were killed. Miss Kuparadze said the editorial staff were "outraged."

Another correspondent said the Thursday paper was destroyed, but did not say who had taken the decision. He added that LITERATURNAYA GAZETA had refused to carry the account, but this was denied by an official for the magazine in Moscow.

The Moscow press gave only sparse details Thursday on events in Georgia, and no newspaper reported President Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal Wednesday for the Georgian people to "be responsible" and oppose attempts to divide the Soviet Union.

Situation 'Complex' But 'Improving'

PM1304101489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar report: "Tbilisi"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 12 Apr—The situation in the city remains complex, although a trend toward stabilization and improvement has emerged. Thus compared with the previous day, more public transport was operating and the industrial enterprises began to work more smoothly. Together with Major V. Molochko, a representative of the commandant of a district, I visited the Kalinin Foundry Equipment Plant. We met with people there.

What did we notice? First and foremost the efficient pace of production and the calm atmosphere.

"From the very first day of the rallies outside Government House," Severyan Semenovich Machaladze, secretary of the plant's party organization, told us, "we have had no stoppages in our work. There are 188 workers at the plant. Today 160 are at work. The others are absent for valid reasons. The production plan is being fulfilled. Round-the-clock duty has been organized at the enterprise. Shop chiefs and foremen are carrying out explanatory work with people. This helps to lessen the tension and anxiety."

"The plant's workers," toolmaker G. Dzeziguri said, joining in the conversation, "have a correct understanding of the situation that emerged. If only measures had been adopted against the extremists earlier, there would have been no casualties...."

Organization and well-planned work characterize other enterprises too. I spoke on the telephone with Vissarion Shalvovich Kotsoladze, secretary of Oktyabrskiy Rayon Party Committee [raykom], and shared my opinion on my visit to the Kalinin plant.

"We have no problems with industrial enterprises in our rayon. We note the well-organized work at the 26 Baku Commissars and Ordzhonikidze Machine-Building Plants, where the directors are A. Tskhadadze and K. Dolidze. The schools and educational establishments are a worry. Attendance is still low. The party raykom is working on this and everyone is among the masses."

The district commandants are also restructuring their activity. Late in the evening I attended a conference held by district commandant Major General G. Bolshega. It was attended by two party raykom first secretaries, two rayon soviet executive committee [ispolkom] chairmen, chiefs of rayon militia departments, and rayon military commissars. It was noted that an improvement in the operational situation can be observed. Party raykom first secretary D. Margvelidze proposed that representatives of the raykom join the soldiers in carrying out night duties to ensure compliance with the curfew. The proposal met with support.

The situation in the city is improving, but extremist elements are also stepping up their activity. Their tactics are changing. In various districts of the city, in deserted alleys and suburbs, groups of 15-20 people are trying to influence the population, distributing handwritten leaflets, calling for strikes, and spreading various conjectures. They are trying to tear down notices containing the text of the military commandant's appeal to the city's population. Measures are being adopted against the pickets and extremists. According to Tbilisi City Soviet Ispolkom Internal Affairs Administration information, Gamsakhurdiya, Kostava, Chanturiya, Sarishvili, and Khukhunashvili, leaders of informal associations, have been arrested. Warrants have been issued for others. The situation in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic capital is fully under the control of soviet and administrative organs and troops. The administration of the city military commandant, in conjunction with party and soviet organs, is carrying out substantial explanatory work at enterprises, schools, and educational establishments.

At 1400 hours Lieutenant General A. Novikov, deputy city military commandant for political affairs, member of the military council, and chief of the district political directorate, met with war veterans, reserve officers, and chairman of internationalist servicemen's councils at the republican military commissariat. The role and place of veterans in explaining the situation to the population were discussed.

Meetings with the city's internationalist servicemen and military instructors from schools and educational establishments are planned for 13 April.

A curfew is in operation. It helps to maintain order.

Origins of Abkhaz Unrest Viewed

PM1304101689 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Apr 89 First Edition p 4

[Special correspondent Captain 3d Class A. Orlov report: "Sukhumi"]

[Text] Sukhumi, 12 Apr—Now that the whole country's attention is focused on events in Tbilisi, the natural question is: How did it start? What happened in Abkhazia and, in particular, in the village of Lykhny in Gudautskiy Rayon?

Only truthful information can dispel the rumors and conjectures that spring up daily about these events. Therefore on arriving in Sukhumi first of all I tried to obtain objective information.

"On 18 March," I was told by republican military commissar Major General L. Abashidze, "a rally was held in the village of Lykhny under the auspices of the Abkhazian People's Front, 'Aydgylara.' The rally was authorized, and people spoke about their social problems and stood up for restructuring, but the extremist section of the People's Front leaders turned people's mood in a direction that suited them...."

What direction this was is best indicated by a document adopted at the rally and addressed to the country's leadership. One cannot fail to notice the following expressions in this appeal: "The ethnic question has been driven into an impasse in Abkhazia," "The Abkhaz are a people on the brink of ethnic disaster." The desire to "Georgianize the Abkhaz and Abkhazia" is given as the reason for this state of affairs.

The appeal was published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ABKHAZIYA on 24 March, and offended the Georgian population both in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] and in Georgia.

As early as 25 March, a rally of people of Georgian nationality was held in Sukhumi. This, too, was authorized. Demands were made for proceedings to be taken against People's Front leaders for kindling ethnic discord. No concrete decisions or actions were taken by soviet workers. And on 1 April there was a similar, but unauthorized, rally in the village of Leselidze. When the participants dispersed, on their way extremist elements stoned two buses that, according to eyewitness accounts, were carrying Menshevik flags. Some passengers suffered slight injuries.

Rallies in Sukhumi, Gali, and Dranda followed. There were calls for strikes and a boycott of studies in higher educational establishments and schools. People were brought to their senses by the events in Tbilisi, which showed how far the heat of emotions can lead.

Today the situation in Sukhumi and other settlements in the Abkhaz ASSR has stabilized. Transport, enterprises, and health resorts in this resort district are operating. Attendance at higher educational establishments and schools is also stabilizing. All this is promoted by the energetic measures adopted by party and soviet organs and the general public in the autonomous republic. And a considerable part is already being played in ensuring law and order by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law 'On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes' and Certain Other USSR Legislative Acts." The decree is seen as a long-awaited, effective measure that will cool the hot heads of those who do not heed the voice of their own common sense.

Organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the prosecutor's office of the Abkhaz ASSR are investigating cases of unlawful actions by extremists.

Earthquake Registered in Tbilisi; No Casualties

LD1304135589 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 13 Apr 89

[Text] Tbilisi April 13 TASS—An earthquake measuring force 4 on the 12-point Soviet scale was registered in Tbilisi, capital of the Transcaucasian republic of Georgia, at 12:49 local time today.

The epicentre was in the mountains 100 kilometres east of the city and the tremors there exceeded force 5, the Georgian Academy of Sciences' Institute of geophysics reported.

The quake reverberated in Armenia, with the Yerevan seismic station recording force 4.5 tremors in Stepanavan, force 4 tremors in Kirovakan and force 3-4 tremors in Krasnoselsk and Tumanyan.

There was no destruction or casualties.

Burlatskiy Assesses Role of People's Deputies

18000778 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 Apr 89 p 2

[Responses by Fedor Burlatskiy, columnist, chairman of the Social Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, to questions by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA: "Legislators"]

[Text] [Question] 1. To your mind, which issues should be considered at the forthcoming Congress of USSR People's Deputies?

[Question] 2. What principles are you going to proceed from in electing deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Burlatskiy] 1. As I see it, the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies after the elections should consider procedural issues of the operation of the congress, the Supreme Soviet, division of their powers, rights and responsibilities of the USSR people's deputy. As of now, there is much vagueness involved here. First, these issues are referred to in the USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) in general terms only; second, our public is now coming to believe that we should consider the issue of passing a new USSR constitution. Even now draft laws are in preparation which are of a constitutional nature: on dividing powers between federal and republic organs of authority; on human and civil rights; on a clearer separation of the functions of the party, other social organizations, and soviets within the political system; on redistributing the functions of ministries and labor collectives; on securing the independence of courts, and so forth. In other words, there will be so many changes in virtually all chapters of the Constitution that a new one will likely have to be adopted.

It appears obvious that USSR people's deputies are not just electors of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chairman but active participants in the operation of the supreme organ of power. Here is a simple question: Will every people's deputy be given an opportunity to speak at the first congress? The answer to it is unclear. Speeches by all of them would take too much time. However, if not all of them get to speak, what is going to be the criterion for selecting those who will be given the floor?

One more question: Do the USSR people's deputies have the right to solicit the information and documents they need from any ministry or department; do they have the right to address requests or petitions to ministries and departments, and are the ministries and departments under an obligation to satisfy these requests? A special statute on the procedure for operations of the congress, USSR people's deputies, USSR Supreme Soviet, and the status of a USSR people's deputy may be needed.

As the chairman of the Social Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for Security and Cooperation in Europe, I would like to place on the agenda the issues of preparing and adopting laws on reinforcing the guarantees of personal rights, on bringing all our legislation into full compliance with the international law, and particularly with the results of the Vienna meeting. Our commission has already approached the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the issue of including the "Declaration of Human and Civil Rights" in the USSR Constitution, has tried to formulate some general principles of such a declaration. We count on participation in preparing and discussing all draft laws on human rights: on the freedom of conscience, freedom of convictions, freedom of movement inside and outside the country, on glasnost and information, on the operation of informal organizations, on the protection of human rights by the courts, and so forth.

2. What are the criteria for electing the USSR Supreme Soviet going to be? Firstly, those who are members of the USSR Supreme Soviet have to be parliamentarians, legislators. We should say right away that many people are not yet ready to perform in this capacity. This requires knowledge, special preparation, experience. It would be good for the people elected to have professional training in law, politics, and economics. At present, the main point is to transfer the preparation of laws to the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The experience of restructuring has shown all the shortcomings and weaknesses of the ministry-oriented principle of preparing draft laws. As far as their volume and propensity to formulate general principles are concerned, many laws resemble either policy decisions or ministerial instructions rather than legal norms which clearly determine the nature of behavior, specific responsibilities, and sanctions for the failure to discharge them. In addition, the ministries take into account mostly the specific interests of just one sphere of operations rather than general national interests.

The parliament will become a parliament only when the deputies are the ones to write and formulate laws, certainly enlisting the help of scientists, representatives of ministries, and social organizations in this endeavor.

In addition to these qualities, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet should be firm, have the ability to defend the interests of the entire people, and, when necessary, go against the current. He should hammer out the necessary compromises, be able to cooperate with others and work in a collective. Finally, his oratory has to be outstanding. In general, it would be preferable if the deputies would learn to speak without a prepared text which is what even Peter I required of the statesmen.

I believe that a deputy should work in the USSR Supreme Soviet no less than 2 to 3 years. Otherwise, some people will start working on preparing a law, and then this work will be completed by others. Of course, the parliament is a school of democracy as well; however, first of all it is an organ of authority rather than a school.

I believe that not all of the USSR people's deputies will wish to leave their main place of employment for several years to concentrate on the very difficult and frequently conflict-ridden work of developing draft laws. This is why, regardless of whether or not they become members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the deputies should be given an opportunity to influence the content of the laws passed, participate in the work of commissions, in investigating the operations of individual ministries, officials, and so forth.

I would also like to mention the procedure of nominating the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I believe it is necessary to take into account the experience of the current election campaign and not to nominate long lists from the very beginning. It may be worthwhile to hear out the proposals of representatives of various groups but not rule out self-nomination. The main point is that it is necessary to put more people on the ballot for secret voting than the number needed to be elected.

Election's Lessons for Party Work Pointed Out

PM1304084989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Apr 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Whom Do People Trust. Party Officials' Prestige Is Affirmed by Deeds"]

[Text] Soviet people's life has entered a crucial stage. The political and economic reforms, the decisions on the party's agrarian policy adopted at the CPSU Central

Committee March plenum, and finally the lessons from the elections of USSR people's deputies are introducing abrupt changes into the social and moral climate. Having rejected the stereotypes of the times of stagnation, we all feel masters of the country and conscientious participants in restructuring.

Without concealing anything from the people, the party speaks frankly about difficulties: If we fail in overcoming them, we may jeopardize the set plans and allow society to be seriously destabilized. It is first and foremost necessary to diminish the urgency of the food problem as soon as possible.

Special responsibility is borne by party officials and all Communists who are called upon to work in a truly new fashion, with utmost dedication. It must be borne in mind that people believe deeds, not words. The prestige of party leaders is established not by bombastic assurances or 9-day wonder reports as in the past, not by high-flown phraseology, but by real achievements. Experience shows that the working people boldly follow those who, setting a personal example in everything, organize reliable monitoring by the party and the whole people of the performance of set tasks.

Genuine party-mindedness is measured in terms of close ties with people, of the ability to creatively take into account the multitude of opinions and achieve positive results. For example, First Secretaries I. Polozkov of the Krasnodar Kray party committee and Yu. Manayenkov of the Lipetsk Oblast party committee [obkom] made themselves a rule to visit labor collectives as frequently as possible. This has become their usual way of life, their spiritual need. And they are awaited by workers, peasants, and members of the intelligentsia because they know: Businesslike contacts and comparison of different views help to achieve a comprehensive approach toward the solution of problems. Furthermore, people have greater trust in those who do not fence themselves off behind office doors, who frequently visit shops or fields, construction sites or laboratories, who are unpretentious in contacts, and are genuinely familiar with working people's daily needs.

Many party officials skillfully utilize the political methods of party influence. A democratic style of leadership is typical of, for example, Ch. Faradzhayev, first secretary of the Khachmasskiy Azerbaijan Communist Party Rayon Committee [raykom]. He organizes the activity of the party committee he heads so as to reorientate leadership cadres toward work in the new conditions without any prompting from above, on the principles of collegiality and mutual exchange of experience. Our readers may recall that PRAVDA wrote about him in one of its features. "I am not personally acquainted with Chingiz Alishevich; I live in a different rayon, but believe me, I have heard a great lot about his humaneness and principledness," Teacher R. Eminov from Yelodzhak Village writes. "He is a competent and profoundly respected leader, a convinced internationalist."

Similar ideas are expressed by Gilda Ivanovna Fribus, German by nationality and residing in Rostov Oblast's Salskiy Rayon: "I read the feature and I vividly recalled my youth in Khachmas, where I studied in an international secondary school. Hard and wonderful years! We lived like members of a single family—Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians, Germans, Ukrainians.... How important it is that Chingiz Alishevich is striving to strengthen the best traditions of fraternal friendship between the Soviet peoples by means of personal example and courage."

Let us ask ourselves: How do the best party workers win prestige and the people's respect? Primarily by their personal qualities. They do not lose their heads in complex situations. They do not answer direct questions either by keeping silent or by telling half-truths. They do not fence themselves off from their subordinates behind the palisade of bureaucratic instructions whenever it becomes necessary to take a personal stance or embark on a risky step. On the contrary, in conformity with party duty and honor, they do everything to ensure that working people can sense: The party is with the people always and in everything, under any circumstances, in the solution of the most responsible tasks.

The CPSU's political line of restructuring and democratization enjoys tremendous support. This was confirmed by the election campaign. Being for the first time ever the real makers of a political process, the working people deliberately gave preference to the loyal fighters for restructuring. It is gratifying that numerous party and Communist Youth League leaders of different ranks are among those who won the mandate of people's trust—for example N. Muradyan, first secretary of the Spitakskiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom; A. Kiselev, second secretary of the Volgograd CPSU Obkom; A. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Obkom; and First Secretaries G. Kolbin of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee and Ye. Sokolov of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

We are witnessing the birth of strong forms of socialist democracy. Consequently, the Central Committee March plenum noted, the party's prestige can grow and strengthen not by the adoption of directives or promulgation of edicts, but only in proportion with the expansion of party organizations' ties with the people and their support for democratic principles. As a rule, people lose their trust in officials who detach themselves from the masses, disregard their needs and opinions, and are slow in restructuring themselves.

Why, for example, did leading party and soviet officials fail to to gain the required quantity of votes at the elections in Leningrad? The same also happened in Kemerovo, Kiev, Tomsk, and some other cities and oblasts.

We will not dramatize events—they must be analyzed. There is plenty of food for thought by party organizations. And primarily whether some leadership officials enjoy sufficient prestige among the public. Only an objective analysis will help them make the right choice—whether to get rid of their shortcomings or to stand down in favor of others who are more deserving.

The lesson that has been taught proves: Only radical changes in the style and methods of work, only a struggle waged in collectives against bureaucratism and the inertia of administrators' ardor will ensure advancement of the cause and the party officials' prestige among the masses. This is well realized by many Communists in leadership positions. They no longer wish to tolerate the lagging of their enterprises, regions, departments, or sectors. Those who do nothing to overcome the difficulties will, sooner or later, find themselves by the wayside.

Party committees (and this is a sign of the times) are stepping up demandingness toward Communists regarding end results. Evaluations are based on actual fruit! By getting rid of inert workers who discredit the party with their lack of professional skills or their inaction, party committees are supporting authoritative and talented personalities. Moreover, this work is being done with mandatory consideration for the people's opinion.

The time demands renewal of the content and methods of party work. The more noticeably this work is targeted toward end results, the greater will be the prestige of Communists and party leaders. Figuratively speaking, their real influence on restructuring is reflected in the mirror of specific deeds.

Ukrainian Deputies Elections Results Published

PM1304151189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Mar 89 p 1

[Unnamed own correspondents' reports: "Elections: Preliminary Results: The People's Elected Representatives"]

[Text] Those people in whom the voters have placed their trust include party, soviet, and economic workers, scientific and cultural figures, workers and collective farm [kolkhoz] members, and military servicemen. V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, has been elected a USSR people's deputy for the Verkhnedneprovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, V.S. Shevchenko, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Presidium, has been elected a USSR People's Deputy for the Kiyevskiy Rural National-Territorial Okrug, and V.A. Masol, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, has been elected a USSR People's Deputy for the Donetskiy-Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug in Donetsk Oblast.

General information on the composition of the deputies will have to wait until the official report of the Central Electoral Commission is published in the press. But many local publications have already carried day-to-day reports from okrug electoral commissions. Our own correspondents have been filing reports on them in response to the requests of this newspaper's readers.

Kiev. N.M. Amosov, the well known surgeon, P.M. Talanchuk, rector of Kiev Polytechnical Institute, S.M. Ryabchenko, head of a laboratory at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Physics, and Yu. N. Shcherbak, secretary of the board of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, have been elected USSR people's deputies. No USSR people's deputies were elected in two territorial okrugs or in Kiyevskiy City National-Territorial Okrug. K.I. Masik, first secretary of Kiev City Party Committee [gorkom], who ran for National-Territorial Okrug No 33, and V.A. Zgurskiy, chairman of Kiev City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom], the registered candidate for Dneprovskiy Territorial Okrug No 465, did not poll the requisite number of votes. Now repeat elections will have to be held within two months in those okrugs as in the Minskiy Electoral Okrug No 467, where the candidates were V.S. Savchenko, a seamstress at the Darnitskiy silk combine, and A.V. Vasilenko, a worker at an instrument making plant, after the entire election campaign has been repeated beginning with the nomination of candidates.

Dnepropetrovsk. In 10 territorial okrugs and two national-territorial okrugs in the oblast the requisite number of votes was polled by the following: A.F. Nazarenko, leading engineer of the "Yuzhnaya" design bureau, N.K Zadoya, first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk oblast party committee [obkom], K.G. Nosov, general director of the "Krivorozhstal" combine, V.I. Zadirko, deputy general director of the "Gibrid-1" industrial-production system, V.N. Danilov, foreman of the Sinelnikovo refrigerator freight car depot, and V.Z. Borisovskiy, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

Repeat elections will be held in five electoral okrugs in the oblast in two months.

Odessa. All eight electoral okrugs in the oblast have elected USSR people's deputies who are well known. They are: I.P. Zelinskiy, rector of Odessa State University, S.A. Andronati, director of the A. Bogatskiy Physics and Chemistry Institute, B.F. Derevyanko, editor of the newspaper "Vechernyaya Odessa," N.F. German, team leader at the "Shabo" state farm-plant, S.V. Yastrebtsov, a military serviceman, Yu. A. Kolomiyets, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, G.K. Kryuchkov, first secretary of Odessa party obkom, and A.S. Reshetnikova, chief agronomist of the "Druzhba" kolkhoz.

Cherkassy. The Okrug electoral commission has examined the voting results and has announced that A.A. Zakharenko, director of the Sakhnovskaya Secondary School in Korsun-Shevchenkovskiy Rayon, is elected as USSR people's deputy for Cherkasskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 62.

The following have been elected USSR people's deputies for territorial electoral okrugs in the oblast: A.I. Chabanov, general director of Cherkassy's "Rotor" Science and Production Association, A.A. Ruzhitskiy, first secretary of Cherkassy party obkom, Yu. N. Yelchenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and Ye. P. Kushchenko, operator at the "Bilshovik" Kolkhoz in Znamenskiy Rayon.

Repeat elections will be held in Umanskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 539 because neither of the two candidates polled more than 50 percent of the votes.

Kharkov. The following have been elected as USSR people's deputies in seven territorial okrugs in the oblast and in Kharkovskiy Rural National-Territorial Okrug: L.I. Sukhov, driver at the Kharkov 16301 motor transport enterprise, D.G. Smirnov, design engineer at the Kharkov electrical engineering plant, A.I. Samoylov, mechanized milking foreman at Gotvaldovskiy Rayon's "Chervoniy Veleten" State Pedigree Stock Farm, V.P. Mysnichenko, first secretary of Kharkov party obkom, A.N. Vasilets, electric locomotive driver at the Kupyansk station locomotive depot, A.S. Maselskiy, chairman of the Kharkov oblispolkom, V.A. Kravets, Ukrainian SSR foreign minister, and Ye. V. Kachalovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

No candidate polled the required number of votes in two territorial okrugs or in Kharkovskiy City National-Territorial Okrug. Repeat elections will have to be held there.

More Ukrainian Results Reported

PM1204145189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Apr 89 p 1

[Unattributed reports under the rubric "Elections: The First Results": "The People's Elected Representatives"]

[Text] Donetsk. The following have been elected people's deputies of the USSR: V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers; A.N. Boyko, chief of the Donetsk State University Political Economy Department; V.G. Kucherenko, chairman of the Donetsk Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [Oblispolkom]; I.V. Khloponina, cutter at the Artemovo 8 March sewn goods factory; Yu.Ye. Burykh, chief of the Gorlovka Chemical Plant technical department; N.I. Kaira, chairman of the Shchorsa collective farm [kolkhoz], Volodarskiy Rayon; A.Ye. Antifeyev, general director of the "Azovmash" production association; Yu.A. Donchenko, mixed team leader at the "Konstantinovpromstroy" trust No 1 construction administration; V.V. Zverev, worker at the "Dobropolyeugol" production association "Dobropolskaya" mine stoping face; A.N. Saunin, lecturer at the Makeyevka construction engineering institute political economy and philosophy department; V.A. Zubanov, secretary of the Khartsyzsk steel wire and cable plant party committee; N.I. Chentsov, electric fitter at the "Oktyabrugol" production association "Komsomolskoye" mine administration; I.I. Zbykovskiy, director of the Donetsk Kirova by-product coke plant; I.A. Zabrodin, Ukrainian SSR minister of finances; A.Ya. Vinnik, first secretary of the Donetsk Oblast Party Committee [obkom].

Those who failed to collect the necessary number of votes include A.A. Bulyanda, director of the Mariupolskiy "Azovstal" metallurgical plant; and B.V. Kachura, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Repeat elections will be held in Volnovakhskiy, Yenakiyevskiy, and Kramatorskiy territorial electoral okrugs. Voting here failed to produce the required majority for a single candidate.

Rovno. According to reports from the okrug electoral commissions published in the local press, deputies to the country's supreme organ have been named for all four of the oblast's electoral okrugs. A.I. Korniyenko, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department, has become deputy for Rovenskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 55. In the territorial okrugs the voters gave their preference to servicemen V.A. Martirosyan; T.I. Panasenko, first secretary of the Rovno party obkom; and G.P. Anufriyev, deputy shop chief at the Rovno nuclear electric power station.

Vinnitsa. Twelve candidate people's deputies ran for the seven electoral okrugs of Vinnitsa Oblast. The okrug commissions report that the following were elected as a result of counting the votes: V.S. Bavula, controller at the Vinnitsa 60th anniversary of October plant; A.P. Nekhayevskiy, first secretary of the Vinnitsa Obkom; V.V. Sirman, tractor driver at the Shevchnko kolkhoz, Zhmerinskiy Rayon; G.S. Moskalenko, link leader at the Lenin kolkhoz, Pogrebishchenskiy Rayon; V.I. Tsybukh, first secretary of the Ukrainian Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee; I.T. Frolov, aide to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary; and V.V. Gnatyuk, doctor at the Kalinovskiy Rayon central hospital.

Zhitomir. V.S. Venglovskaya, weaver at the Zhitomir flax combine named for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, obtained a convincing majority at the elections for Zhitomirskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 44.

In the territorial okrugs voters gave their preference to A.A. Zgerskaya (Yaroshinskaya), correspondent of the oblast newspaper RADYANSKA ZHITOMIRSHCHINA; V.M. Kavun, first secretary of the Zhitomir party obkom; V.P. Krishevich, diesel locomotive driver at the Korosten depot of the Southwestern Railroad; N.M. Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR KGB; and A.A. Rynku, chairman of the Novograd-Volynskiy City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom].

Khmelnitskiy. V.K. Shulyak, chairman of the "Trud" kolkhoz, Teofipolskiy Rayon, has become the country's people's deputy on the basis of the results of the voting in Khmelnitskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 61.

The following won the elections in the oblast's four territorial okrugs: V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister; V.G. Dikusarov, first secretary of the Khmelnitskiy Party Obkom; I.B. Pavlevich, leader of the Kamenets-Podolskiy housing operation association trade union committee "Desantnik" military sports club; and V.N. Urvant, secretary of the party bureau of a military unit.

Zaporozhye. In the oblast the elections were held for the six electoral okrugs—the territorial okrugs and the national-territorial okrug. On the basis of the results of the voting the following have become the country's people's deputies: A.V. Grib, blast furnace attendant at the "Zaporozhstal" metallurgical combine; S.I. Gurenko, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; L.M. Voronina, tractor team leader at the kolkhoz named for the 50th anniversary of October, Primorskiy Rayon; V.A. Pisanets, mechanized link leader at the "Zarya" kolkhoz, Veselovskiy Rayon; G.P. Kharchenko, first secretary of the Zaporozhye Party Obkom; and V.T. Kurilenko, machine operator at the "Ukraina" kolkhoz, Pologovskiy Rayon.

In the Zaporozhskiy-Shevchenkovskiy territorial electoral okrug neither of the two candidates received the number of votes necessary for election. Repeat elections will be held here.

Poltava. The candidate deputies received the necessary number of votes in only three of the oblast's six electoral okrugs. F.M. Demchenko, team leader at the Poltava House Construction Combine; D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister; and A.S. Myakota, first secretary of the Poltava Party Obkom, have become elected representatives of the people. Repeat elections will be held in territorial electoral okrugs No 505 and No 508 and in national-territorial okrug No 54.

Sumy. In the territorial-electoral okrug No 512, where V.V. Burlaka, lathe operator at the "Elektron" Production Association; and V.A. Tretyak, apparatchik at the "Khomprom" production association; were running. Neither candidate collected the necessary number of votes. Repeat elections will be held here.

The voters of the oblast's other okrugs named the country's people's deputies. I.G. Grintsov, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; M.A. Chepurnaya, organizer of extracurricular and out of school educational work at the Popovskaya secondary school, Konotopskiy Rayon; V.A. Shevchenko, first secretary of the Sumy Party Obkom; and A.M. Tsarenko, chairman of the "Mir" kolkhoz, Putivlskiy Rayon; became people's deputies.

Uzhgorod. Of the seven candidates registered in the four Transcarpathian electoral okrugs the following became the country's people's deputies: N.V. Bigunets, chief doctor at the Dubovoye sectorial hospital, Tyachevskiy Rayon; M.V. Gerzanich, chief of the children's department of the Vinogradovskiy Rayon central hospital; E.A. Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Forces; and S.M. Mishuk, leader of a team of assemblymen-fitters at the Khust manufacturing equipment plant.

Ye.Yu. Koshtura, secretary of the "Nove Zhittya" kolkhoz party committee; G.I. Bandrovskiy, first secretary of the Transcarpathian Party Obkom; and Ya.V. Moysyuk, foreman and team leader at the Velikiy Bychkov Wood Chemical Combine; failed to collect the necessary number of votes.

Ukrainian Results Report Continues

PM1304092989 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Apr 89 p 1

[Own correspondents' reports under the rubric "Elections: The First Results": "People's Elected Representatives"]

[Text] Today we finish publishing on-the-spot reports from our own correspondents who, at our readers' request, have transmitted information reports from the okrug electoral commissions on the results of the elections of USSR people's deputies in the republic's oblasts.

Overall reports on the deputy corps will be published in the official report of the Central Electoral Commission.

Kirovograd. Having won the elections, A.P. Gorbenko, mechanized link leader at the Lenin collective farm [kolkhoz], Ustinovskiy Rayon; O.L. Malyuta, chief of the pediatric surgery department at the oblast children's hospital; N.I. Samilyk, first secretary of the Kirovograd party oblast committee [obkom]; and B.S. Breurosh, combine harvester operator at the "Druzhba" kolkhoz, Maloviskovskiy Rayon; have become people's deputies of the country.

There will thus be no repeat elections or runoffs in the oblast.

Ternopol. The elections took place for the national-territorial okrug and three territorial electoral okrugs. According to a report from the okrug commissions, after the votes had been counted the following became the people's elected representatives of the oblast's inhabitants: I.V. Danilyuk, chairman of the "Radyanska Ukraina" kolkhoz, Podvolochisskiy Rayon; Professor R.T. Gromyak, chief of the Ukrainian literature department at the Ternopol Pedagogical Institute named for Ya. Galan; V.Ye. Ostrozhinskiy, first secretary of the Ternopol Party Obkom; and Ya.Ya. Gil, chief doctor at the Kremenetskiy Rayon hospital.

Simferopol. A.N. Girenko, first secretary of the party obkom, was elected USSR people's deputy for Krymskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 49.

The people's elected representatives were also determined in all six of the oblast's territorial okrugs. They are E.P. Tikhonenkov, deputy director of the mineral resources institute; V.V. Simvolokov, trainer and teacher at the Krasnogvardeyskoye Children's and Young People's Sports School; V.V. Ivanov, fitter at the "Titan" Crimean Production Association named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR; serviceman Yu.A. Koltsov; V.A. Nozdrya, leader of a team of assembly-men-fitters at the "Sevstopolskiy Morskoy Zavod imeni S. Ordzhonikidze" Production Association; and Yu.S. Tsavro, chief of the pediatric surgery department at the Yalta City hospital.

Nikolayev. According to reports from the oblast okrug electoral commissions, the following won at the elections of the country's people's deputies: D.V. Lisnichiy, chief of the scales repair group at the Nikolayev Alumina Plant; L.G. Sharayev, first secretary of the party obkom; M.S. Pichuzhkin, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] representative at the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.G. Pogorelov, director of the state farm named for the 26th CPSU Congress, Nikolayevskiy Rayon.

In Zavodskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 494 neither of the two candidates received the necessary majority of votes for elections. Repeat elections will be held here.

Kherson. The names of the country's people's deputies have been cited in all four of the oblast's electoral okrugs. The voters gave their preference to A.F. Nikolayenko, chief of a mechanized detachment at the "Rossiya" kolkhoz, Chaplinskiy Rayon; V.A. Cherepovich, secretary of the Dneprovskiy "Era" enterprise party committee; V.F. Zakharchenko, milkmaid from the kolkhoz named for Krupskaya, Kakhovskiy Rayon; and M.M. Kushnerenko, first secretary of the Kherson party Obkom.

Ivano-Frankovsk. The five candidate people's deputies won convincingly in the electoral okrugs. Mandates of the people's trust will be presented to T.V. Sidorchuk, worker at the Prikarpatskiy furniture combine; Yu.G. Matveyev, the republic's chief state arbitrator; A.F. Yelezin, link leader at the kolkhoz named for Moskalev, Tlumachskiy Rayon; I.G. Postoronko, first secretary of the Ivano-Frankovsk party Obkom; and V.M. Tkachuk, chairman of the board of the "Prut" agricultural firm, Kolomyyskiy Rayon.

Kiev Oblast. As has already been reported, V.S. Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has been elected the country's people's representative for Kiyevskiy Rural National-Territorial Electoral Okrug No 34.

G.I. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev party Obkom; N.I. Priymachenko, first secretary of the Polesskiy Rayon Party Committee; S.V. Tyupa, director of the Rzhishchev "Radiator" plant; B.V. Bondarenko, navigator at the Borisopol aircraft enterprise; and L.T. Matiyko, team leader at the Fastov No 37 construction and installation administration.

None of the candidates collected over half the votes for Kiyevo-Svyatoshinskiy Territorial Okrug No 472, where three candidates were running. A runoff will be held here.

General Novozhilov Supports Opponent in Elections

18010474b Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Major P. Kochnev: "Two Decisions of the General"]

[Text] Even before the beginning of the voting it was clear that the people gathered in the district pre-electoral meeting would give preference to the troop commander of the Far Eastern District, Lieutenant General V. Novozhilov. And indeed the other candidate for people's deputy—an associate of the Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of Peoples of the Far East, Yevdokiya Aleksandrovna Gayer, candidate of historical sciences—did not gather the required number of votes. It would seem that Novozhilov should have been glad about his victory in the difficult and stressful pre-electoral struggle. But, asking for the floor, Viktor Ivanovich unexpectedly offered to support the alternative candidacy of the representative of the indigenous nationalities of the area.

Why did he do this? It would seem that it was not merely because he respected this woman as a scholar and a fighter for improving the life of the Far Eastern residents and protecting the area's ecology. And it was certainly not because he wanted the voters to think of him as such a gentleman. The Communist Novozhilov simply knew that certain voters, including representatives of Gayer's resourceful group, thought that he, the general, voted for his opponent on the authority of the Army, in his capacity as commander, as if there was a large number of pre-election papers, increased agitation, and so forth. But he had become accustomed to being honest all the time so that people would not feel the slightest lack of confidence in him. And he thought: Let the voters be convinced once again that they were not wrong to entrust to him the right to single-handedly continue the fight for the deputy mandate.

But I recall a case in training when one of the regimental commanders, who had, incidentally, just been appointed to this post, responded to Lt Gen V. Novozhilov, who at that time was first deputy troop commander of the district, by saying that his decision was better. Those in attendance perked up their ears: How would the general respond? Novozhilov himself fell deep into thought. But then, smiling, he said:

"Yes, you are right, comrade lieutenant colonel. I agree with your decision."

Having evaluated the state of affairs, the graduate of the General Staff Academy had the courage to admit his mistake in the presence of quite junior officers....

Yerevan 'Thugs' Arrested for Disturbing Elections

PM1204113389 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 28 Mar 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "From the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] On 26 March thousands of Yerevan inhabitants headed for polling stations in order to discharge their civic duty and take part in the election of USSR people's deputies. Many of them rightly associated the elections to the USSR's supreme organ of state power with the further implementation of the program of restructuring, the strengthening of democratization and glasnost in the country, the solution of the many socioeconomic problems which have built up in the republic, and the improvement of the ideological and moral atmosphere.

However, unfortunately there were also people who, at variance with the law and common sense, tried to organize unsanctioned marches through the city streets carrying banners and shouting slogans of a politically damaging and inflammatory nature. The initiator of the disturbances was again the so-called "national self-determination" group cobbled together by Paruyr Ayrikyan, the notorious anti-Sovietist, who was tried several times and subsequently stripped of Soviet citizenship and expelled from the USSR. The ultimate aim of this group is Armenia's secession from the USSR.

Thugs from the said group, refusing to obey the militia's lawful demands, behaved extremely aggressively and provocatively. The law enforcement organ forces put a stop to these actions. The organizers and the most active inciters of the disturbances were detained under administrative regulations.

The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs draws citizens' attention to the fact that provocative escapades of this kind are fraught with the most serious consequences and asks them to strictly follow the established procedure, show prudence, and not to allow individual irresponsible elements to destabilize the situation and cause disturbances in the city in order to advance their selfish aims.

Party Official Views Lithuania's Elections

PM1204110389 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 30 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Vladimir Antonovich Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by ELTA correspondents B. Buchyalis and G. Savitskas: "Discoveries and Lessons of the Elections"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] In a talk with ELTA correspondents Vladimir Antonovich Berezov, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, comments on the results of the election of USSR people's deputies.

[Correspondents] To be frank, the election results were a surprise for many people, On one hand, high-ranking party and soviet workers who—we shall be frank—had done a lot for the republic's welfare and whose competence and experience would have been most suitable were not elected. On the other hand, people whose sociopolitical activity, at any rate before the election campaign, were completely unknown to many people, became deputies. As is well known, the latter were supported by "Sajudis" and they make up the majority on the deputies' lists. What do you think, why did this happen?

[Berezov] I cannot agree that the results were absolutely unexpected. Naturally, they do not satisfy many party members. Restructuring has brought and will bring many more surprises. We are proceeding along an untrodden path and each step is not only a discovery but also a lesson: That means that before taking this step we have not weighed and considered everything and perhaps we have sometimes been overmodest or conversely have become overexcited. Life shows that it has always been like that at a time of revolutionary changes. I am sorry that my colleagues in party work and the leaders of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of

Ministers failed to win deputy seats. I am sure that there are no reasons to doubt their moral and professional qualities. Incidentally, I should stipulate immediately that according to my information the same failure has overtaken the leaders of several other republics even when the public informal movements have not acquired the same dimension as in our republic. It must be admitted that the legacy of the time of stagnation still dominates us: We are having to pay for old mistakes which in many cases were not made by us. Yet, frankly, who else can be made answerable?

Restructuring, which has aroused the broad masses' political and civic activeness, has, of course, put new people at the center of attention. Many of them sought even before to arouse the public and they brought new, often unexpected, proposals to the election campaign. I would not say that all the ways and methods they proposed had a precise orientation or were absolutely realistic. But it must be admitted that they instilled and continue to instill hope. And in a revolutionary situation emotions play a far from secondary role.

In brief, the voters were primarily voting categorically against the old times and procedures. And only later in some specific instances against the leaders of that period and that—I repeat once again—is not so much the fault of those leaders as their misfortune. So I cannot agree with the assertions which have been expressed that the elections showed the complete defeat of the party and the absolute victory of "Sajudis."

They say that there were candidates from the party and candidates from "Sajudis." Yes, there were. Let's compare their platforms. The former set forth their platform in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Address to voters while the latter had no address, they proceeded from "Sajudis'" general program. But if you study the two documents more attentively you can be convinced that they have much in common. There is the legalization of the republic's sovereignty in the draft of the new Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution which, incidentally, was essentially prepared by joint efforts. There is the resurrection of national dignity through documents such as the Law on the Lithuanian Language and the decrees on national symbols. There is the restoration of historical truth, the rehabilitation of innocent victims, and the social programs aimed at rendering aid to the family and to invalids, and so forth.

[Correspondents] The public gave a varied response to the decisions of the 17th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on the eve of the elections and particularly to the speeches of some of its participants. Did the party election machine not start skidding on this sand?

[Berezov] The Central Committee plenum gave an assessment of the political situation which had taken shape at the time and clearly defined the limit which we Communists do not have the right to exceed. I am sure that the plenum's decisions were correct and realistic. That some of the plenum participants spoke too categorically is another matter. But that is not the opinion of the entire Central Committee but only of individual members. Of course, many people who have grown accustomed to interpreting every public word uttered by the party (especially by a member of a party organ) as a compulsory instruction could have concluded that this was a return to the old times. In a certain sense this influenced the choice of who to vote for.

On the other hand, some party committees and some Communists also took the plenum speeches as a call to "tighten the screws." Particularly those who did not and do not have serious arguments for fruitful dialogue, especially arguments backed up by their personal labor or specific contribution to restructuring.

[Correspondents] The interest in the elections is great. Nonetheless many voters did not take part in the voting. How are we to understand that? We are interested in politics, yet when we should take part in it we are lacking in vigor

[Berezov] There were 2,588,146 people on the voters' lists and of these 82.69 percent received ballot papers. For a society with longer-standing traditions of democratic elections such a percentage is entirely natural. It should in no way give rise to pessimism regarding our people's civic activeness. We have simply become accustomed to embellished "convenient" figures at previous elections, although the worth of reports of that kind—99.9 or 99.88 percent (what's the difference?) of voters took part in the voting and voted "for"—was an open secret.... Many reasons can prevent people from taking part in the voting. We should not turn this into a tragedy, there are active people and passive people.

[Correspondents] In Lithuania there was not a single okrug for which just one candidate deputy was running, although the law on elections does provide for this possibility. For some okrugs there were even eight candidates registered and here they did not take advantage of the right of okrug meetings to reduce their number. Do you consider this a democratic or vexed feature of the election campaign? In your view should this practice be followed in future?

[Berezov] There can be no two opinions on this score: Voting without a choice cannot be considered a manifestation of democracy. Of course, in each specific case it is the voters of a specific okrug who must decide. But my opinion is that if a candidate has not been nominated in violation of the law he should be registered. If it seems to the candidate himself that he is surrounded by too many people then he has the right to refuse to run.... Elections, secret voting exist so that people can express their will unimpeded. It is another matter when these elections fail to give a large amount of positive experience of how the party organizations should prepare to nominate candidates. Stagnation and the habit of former years of taking sensible decisions in a narrow circle and awaiting instructions from above and fear of acting in a nonstandard way fettered the initiative of many local party organizations. And as is well known it is not only nature but also politics which abhors a vacuum.

[Correspondents] The press did not publish a list of the candidates supported by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. A short television film—did many people see it?—did little to help voters find their way correctly. Agitation for candidates supported by the party also took place mainly in traditional forms. Yet a broad arsenal of means was used for agitation for the candidates supported by the Lithuanian movement for restructuring: Lists, posters, and booklets, large and small, and improvised meetings, agitation leaflets, and beautifully decorated trucks.... Does it not seem to you that this also helped to influence the election results?

[Berezov] Why not? This should have been envisaged. Perhaps it did not predetermine the results but it did influence them. If you cannot count on that then why try? Perhaps the agitation means were not always uncontroversial because of their excessive emotional content and some were produced on the basis of foreign models and not in the best form. Making a favorable impression for a minute, an hour, or a week is not that difficult. We all have some knowledge of the basic elements of ostentation. Attracting people by justice, by a knowledge of life and logic, is far harder, particularly under present conditions when neither life nor the path toward changing it can be called easy.

But emotion and attractive form are not the enemy of content. And we must be absolutely self critical: We did not use the opportunities. Engels was right when he made his caustically ironic remark about shyness in battle.... The inability to react swiftly and actively to what is around you, to express not the opinion of a "higher-ranking" comrade but your own opinion, this bureaucratic fear of innovation, as I would put it, will do anyone a disservice in our time. And each person must reach this conclusion.

[Correspondents] Some 33 candidates won at the elections and a further 16 are continuing the struggle. What in your view determined their victory, their personal qualities, the attractive and realistic nature of their programs, or the well organized agitation?

[Berezov] All these things were equally important and in some cases it seemed that even trivia were of importance. Thus, those candidates or their agents who visited families, listened to people, and found a kind word for each person who needed it won considerable sympathy. Basically this was done by representatives of "Sajudis" and it was a noble undertaking. But some candidates were guided by old bureaucratic methods: They issued orders and instructions to someone—often to party apparatus workers—and supposed that the job was done.

Therefore it was those who went to the people who gained. Perhaps not with the absolute truth (who will say where that is?) and perhaps with controversial proposals, but with a great desire to talk, to persuade, to consult. That should be borne in mind by everyone who lays claim to the role of a leader of restructuring. That is what should primarily be demanded of the Communists and party committee leaders.

[Correspondents] The elected deputies include only two representatives of non-Lithuanian nationality. If we follow the stereotypes which existed even recently, this does not correspond to the national composition of the population. The same can be said of workers and collective farm members—they are represented by just one person. And there are only two women. But there are 22 people from Vilnius, 6 from Kaunas, 3 from Klaypeda, 1 from Shyaulyay, and 1 representative of Panevezhskiy Rayon....

[Berezov] I see no great problem here: After all the voters are people of all nationalities. There were regions where, for instance, Russians and Poles predominate yet a Lithuanian was elected. And vice versa. Ultimately, the elections have not yet ended....

The same can be said of the representation of workers and collective farm members. Of course, I personally would like there to be more of them in the country's parliament: The former are closer to the lathe, as they say, the latter closer to the land. Yet the deputies who were elected by workers and peasants expressed their wishes, hopes, and will in their programs. And to be frank they have no less if not more opportunity to embody all this.

In this connection I would like to take a look at the composition of deputies from the other side. Of these 19 are CPSU members and if you add on those who were elected from public organizations, then there will be 33 Communists (of the 49 people so far elected). Both the party and "Sajudis" are striving for the common goals of restructuring and are seeking and will seek the all-around acceleration of social progress.

Everything that I have said in reply to this and the previous matters is my personal opinion. Everyone is analyzing the election results at the moment. They will, of course, be studied in depth by party organizations, party committees, and the Central Committee. Only then will we have the answers to the questions which are arising now, and perhaps we will find it easier to resolve the problems that may arise in the future.

[Correspondents] The official results of the elections in other republics have not yet been announced, but the picture is clear. What do the elections in Lithuania look like against the backdrop of the neighboring republics and the country as a whole?

[Berezov] In most regions participation in the elections also totaled between 80-85 percent. A truly unexpected detail is the fact that in many okrugs where one or two candidates were standing, not one managed to obtain the necessary majority of votes, and run-offs will have to be held there. In the Russian Federation there were 88 such okrugs, in Lithuania there was 1.

[Correspondents] In one of the election campaign speeches someone recalled the saying that people tell the biggest lies before elections, in wartime, and after a hunt. You may say that this saying originated in another society where the traditions of organizing elections are different, but nonetheless.... After all, the following factor cannot be entirely excluded: Generous promises gain greater popularity for a candidate against another who promises less, but works harder. In your opinion, during the campaign did candidates' election platforms always correspond to their actual possibilities?

[Berezov] Let's be realistic about this. At present big and small problems of our past and present are being discussed with the utmost candor. And no matter who is doing the criticizing, be it friend or foe, responsibility invariably has to be accepted by the present generation of Communists because it was in the name of the party that injustices were perpetrated and even crimes were committed. A Communist, aware of his responsibility, cannot, even in the heat of the election campaign, promise that our most painful wounds will be healed here and now. Yet there were many promises to radically and immediately change people's lives. In front of large audiences, for instance, promises were given to raise the living standards to match those in the most highly developed countries and what is more, not at some unspecified time in the future, but right away, by next year at the latest. This would be wonderful, but how is it to be achieved? In these circumstances sober voices warning against euphoria, reminding us what level of development we have currently attained, and what we can realistically hope for within the next few years, met with suspicion. Naturally, people like to dream about a bright future, but we are realists and we believe that bitter truth is better than sweet lies.

We need to acquire high political standards and here responsibility for one's words does not come last.

The lessons of the election campaign are unambiguous. I believe that the main thing is that all candidate deputies without exception have gained a better understanding of people's aspirations. And getting closer to real, rather than imaginary or theorized life, has brought the positions of the candidates from the Communist Party and the "Sajudis" closer together in many respects. So, "Sajudis" candidates at meetings with the public and in television and radio broadcasts did not support the maximalist demands which might have, in one way or another, destabilized the situation or kindled unhealthy political passions.

During the election debates different people viewed responsibility differently. But now the elections are over, and the newly elected deputies are faced with the task of defending Lithuania's interests wisely, honestly, and proceeding from the actual state of affairs. I wish with all my heart that they may do so!

Resolution on Mandate to Trade Unions Deputies

18280100 Moscow TRUD in Russian
25 Mar 89 pp 1-2

["Expanded" resolution of the AUCCTU Plenum on the mandate to the USSR people's deputies form the trade unions]

[Text] Resolution V, expanded, of the Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] (accepted 22 March 1989) on the mandate to the USSR people's deputies from the USSR trade unions.

1. To consider the pre-election platform of the Soviet trade unions, "Struggling for restructuring, for the interests of the working people," the practical realization of the goals and tasks stated in it, to be the chief mandate for the USSR people's deputies from the country's trade unions.

2. To accept the concrete proposals introduced by the members of trade unions and labor collectives at the pre-election meetings with candidates for USSR people's deputies from the trade unions as mandates from the USSR trade unions to the people's deputies.

To entrust the USSR people's deputies from the trade unions with achieving their realization.

3. The presidium of the AUCCTU, the central committees, the republic, kray and oblast trade-union councils, the organizations subordinate to the AUCCTU in conjunction with the USSR people's deputies for trade unions, as well as the corresponding state and economic organs, and the soviets of people's deputies will take measures to fulfill the wishes and critical comments uttered at the meetings with candidates for deputies for the trade unions, trade union aktivs, labor collectives, in the press, and in letters from workers.

To prepare and introduce propositions and critical comments on issues demanding the resolution of the AUCCTU, state, and economic organs uttered by members of the trade unions during the course of the pre-election campaign. To inform the plenum of the

AUCCTU of the summation of the examination of the proposals and critical comments uttered by the trade union members during the course of the pre-election campaign.

To heighten the role of the trade unions as the most massive public organization of working people. To subsequently set a course for the social reorientation of the national economy, the resolution of first and foremost tasks of the growth in prosperity of the Soviet people, and to supply them with provisions and goods for popular consumption, housing, services, and the fulfillment of various material and spiritual demands.

To advocate the prioritized development of production, directly linked with the increase in the people's level of living, and the change in the production line of a part of the "group A" industrial enterprises to produce goods for public consumption; the reduction of military expenditures, and the conversion of part of the defense production; a refusal to construct expensive projects which divert labor and funds from the resolution of essential social problems; and the increase the share of the national product directed toward consumption and social-cultural construction to no less than 84 percent.

To steadfastly implement the agrarian policy directed toward a radical social-economic transformation of the countryside, the removal in the near future of the acuity of the problem of provisions, and securing the output of agricultural products in the 13th Five-Year Plan in the quantity and assortment sufficient for a stable supply of provisions.

Added for the resolution of issues of material stimulation:

—the improvement of state regulation of wages on the basis of a tariff system, which would be understandable and flexible, and re-examined periodically on a general governmental scale simultaneously with the five-year plan for the country's economic and social development;

—broad application of various forms of organization of and payment for labor in agro-industrial production with the aim of intensifying the rural toilers' material interests in increasing the production of vegetable and animal products, taking into consideration the restructuring of economic relations within the agro-industrial complex;

—the completion during the 13th Five-Year Plan of wage reform in the non-production sector and in the future, its introduction concurrent with wage reform in the production branches of the national economy;

—an increase in the lower limit of wages to a level which would provide workers with a minimum for living;

—the distribution of privileges for multi-shift work regimens for all workers; granting labor collectives the right to decide these issues;

—steadfast observance of the principal of social justice in payment for labor and the abolition of unfounded privileges;

—the introduction, beginning with the 13th Five-Year Plan, of a new system of regulation of wages on the level of the rayon, with an eye toward making the system more fair; the establishment of a single coefficient for all enterprises and organizations of a given region; the increase, and in the 13th Five-Year Plan the abolition of the upper wage limit upon the basis of which the coefficient is calculated.

To actively aid the enhancement of social assistance to low-income families. To consider the fundamental path for the resolution of the problem of low-income status to be the creation of conditions for growth in income from labor, the expansion of the workers' opportunities for receiving supplementary wages, the increase of grants to children of low-income families.

With this aim, the following goals will be strived for from the onset of the 13th Five-Year Plan:

—the determination within the legislative system of the minimum for subsistence, on the basis of which must be calculated the minimum scales for wages, pensions, stipends for dependents, etc.;

—the realization of a system of taxation on the basis of a differentiated approach, stipulating a successive reduction in the level of taxation of low-income population groups, and a progressive tax scale for individuals with high incomes;

—enlistment to support social assistance to low-income families, along with a centralized all-union and republic funds, as well as funds from non-centralized sources (budgets of local councils, enterprise funds).

To steadfastly and sequentially support the fortification of state and public control over prices and tariffs for services to the population.

To ensure, starting in 1990, the systematic, in-depth, objective publication in the press at the government level of price indices, inflation rates, and indices characterizing the level of living of various socio-demographic population groups according to region of the country; and the determination of cost of a sensible and minimal "consumer shopping basket." To periodically reexamine the sizes of wages, pensions, stipends, etc. depending upon changes in the consumer price index.

To struggle against the manifestations of group egoism as expressed in unjustified price increases for production of any state or cooperative enterprise, especially for any items for children and elderly individuals, and the "drying up" of the supply of inexpensive items.

The deputies for the trade unions are obligated to insist that any reform in retail prices requires preliminary nation-wide discussion, and must be tightly bound to the market saturation of industrial goods and foodstuffs. Retail price reform must not provoke a decrease in the standard of living of the Soviet people.

To be ruled by the serious need to restore social justice in the area of consumption, to introduce into the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals for legislative expansion of the rights of workers' control of trade unions for the distribution of material wealth, especially of foodstuffs and shortage goods; the establishment and application of prices for foodstuffs, consumer goods and services, while observing order in trade, public food and service supply (including cooperatives).

To be steadfast in the acceleration of the development of and the presentation for nationwide discussion of the project of the new Law on Pension Provisions for Workers, and its implementation from the onset of the 13th Five-Year Plan. To insist that this Law stipulate:
—the close link between the the size of pensions and the labor investment, the length of service, with consideration of regional coefficients; their increase, especially of minimum old-age and disability pensions, to a minimal subsistence level; the expansion of opportunities to utilize the labor of pensioners, the abolition of limits on their earnings;
—the systematization of pension provisions for unfavorable work conditions; the inclusion of the period of upbringing in the calculation of length of work for pension purposes for women with children.

The achievement of an increase in necessary cases of the means for social insurance; including funds to families with children; the expansion of privileges for invalids and participants in the Great Patriotic War and veterans who fulfilled their internationalist duty.

To assist in the development of various forms of social, cultural and living services of disabled people living alone and elderly citizens in need of full-time assistance; the expansion of the network and the improvement of the activities of boarding houses and pensioners' houses for war and labor veterans, and internationalist troops.

To establish deputy control over the resolution of issues associated with the acceleration of solving the country's housing problem, and the overall social development of enterprises, cities and villages, including the elimination, during the 13th Five-Year Plan, of the majority of decrepit and substandard housing, and the transfer of the citizens living in such housing to housing with amenities; the increase of housing construction by labor collectives using their own funds and the expansion of individual cooperative construction.

The achievement of a substantive reduction of expenses of capital investment and material resources in the construction of new, expensive, non-priority industrial projects, except for those being reconstructed, and the direction of those expenses toward construction of housing, schools, medical and pre-school centers, sports and cultural institutions—first and foremost in the the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RFSFR, areas of the North, Siberia, the Far East and the Central Asian republics. To increase attention to the issues of village construction of housing with amenities, projects of social, cultural and everyday purpose, and the rehabilitation of abandoned villages.

The introduction of proposals for the improvement of the housing legislation now in effect, including the expansion of privileges and guarantees for the resolution of housing issues for war and labor veterans, invalids, low-income families, single mothers and young families; the fortification of the trade unions' control, that of the very workers in need of improvement of housing conditions, for the just distribution and utilization of housing.

To favor the development and implementation of a general government set of measures of an economic and legal nature to stimulate the creation at all enterprises of healthy and safe work conditions appropriate to the reality of production; the acceptance for these purposes of the USSR law on the protection of labor; the formation of a commission under the USSR Council of Ministers to coordinate the ministries' and departments' activities in the resolution of the problems of human safety; the conduct of a systematic general investigation of labor conditions in the national economy, broadly informing the workers on their condition; the introduction of the mechanism of economic interest of enterprises in the improvement of labor conditions and the elimination of workplaces with unfavorable conditions; the increase in responsibility of designers and machine-production enterprises for workers' loss of health caused by their products' construction deficiencies, of their failure to comply with safety specifications.

To reach in the near future the reduction of the work week to 40 hours, and the complete elimination of mandatory "catch up" Saturdays.

To insist within the USSR Supreme Soviet and government organs upon the trade unions' position on the need to increase paid annual vacations for workers; the acceptance and implementation from the onset of the 13th Five-Year Plan of the USSR Law on Vacations. To stipulate the minimum vacation length of no less than 18 business days rather than 15, subject to prolongation depending upon length of employment; an increase in the duration of paid maternity and childbirth leave, as well as in the amount of the one-time grant for the first born; the establishment of supplementary paid vacation for women with children under the age of 14: 3 business days for one child, 6 for two; for three or more children, 9 days.

To consider a primary task of the trade unions' deputies the substantive enhancement of the social defense of women workers, the review of all legislative acts already improved for 1989-1990 concerning the labor and recreation of women. To achieve the reduction, followed by the elimination, of night work for women, as well as work under difficult, dangerous conditions, and the introduction of a reduced work week for women; to grant women a total single pre- and post-natal leave; enhancing, at the mothers' discretion, the length of the paid leave to care for a child until he is 2.5-3 years old; the prohibition of change in the family order of work and production under difficult or dangerous circumstances, where use of women's labor or that of persons under 18 years of age is inadmissible.

To develop a general governmental program to strengthen the family, stipulating a range of issues of development of the everyday sector, the protection of mothers and children, the creation of normative conditions for bringing up children within the family, in pre-school centers, and in schools, including optimal programs for the institutions' functioning. To improve the living and working conditions of mothers with many children. To reach the point where family child care is considered socially useful labor. To increase parents' responsibility for children's upbringing. To show great concern for the parents and widows of dead soldiers.

To approach the state of free and broadly accessible curative and preventive assistance for the labor collective and family; to enhance medical assistance to war and labor veterans, and military internationalists, as well as the development of sanatorium-health spa affairs, organized recreation and, first and foremost, large-scale physical culture and tourism for families.

To fortify the unity and friendship of the peoples of the USSR, to assist the harmony of inter-ethnic relations, the resolution of the problems of the minor nationalities, and the development of national culture; to firmly oppose any manifestations of nationalism.

To achieve, through the development of measures for the further development of cost-accounting forms of enterprise and regional activity, reliable guarantors for the labor collectives in the distribution of income (profit), and the formation of funds for economic stimulation to provide for just and mutual inter-enterprise, inter-regional and inter-state economic relations. To allow labor collectives the right to produce on their own account supplemental longevity pay, prolonged paid vacations, pension payments, and stipends for mothers of many children.

In view of restructuring, the economic and social leadership in the union republics, on the basis of their sovereign rights, self-management and self-financing, and the empowerment of the local soviets of people's deputies, requires the provision of corresponding rights of the territorial and branch trade union organs in defense of the workers' interests. Administrative pressure on the labor collectives and infringement of their rights on the part of ministries, departments, and local organs will be counteracted decisively.

To achieve an acceleration in the law on nature conservancy, and an effective government program for the improvement of the country's ecological environment (Chernobyl, Baykal, the Aral Sea, the Volga river basin and others). Through development and deputy control over the implementation of the legislative measures for nature conservancy, to invest particular concern in the creation and implementation of a mechanism of raising enterprises' concern and responsibility in the rational, systematic utilization of natural resources obtained, and in the close link between the efficacy of the results of their economic activities and natural conservation measures.

To assume an uncompromising stand against departmental approaches to the development of production forces which do not take into consideration the condition of the region's natural environment, and provide for the appropriate ecological security; to insist upon mandatory expert ecological advice when planning major projects and economic decisions (especially those concerning nuclear energy).

To open a nation-wide forum for discussion, and for especially important problems, referenda, and proposed laws touching upon the people's basic life interests; and the further expansion of glasnost in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its organs and people's deputies. To participate in the development of proposals on the reform of the labor legislation, bearing in mind the necessity of strengthening the guarantee of the right to work; the improvement of the utilization of labor resources; the expansion of rights and heightened responsibility of enterprises and regions in this matter; improvement in the system of certification of scientific workers and public education; and a significant abbreviation of the list of individuals, the examination of whose labor disputes is realized in the system subordinate to the aforementioned administrative organs.

To conduct a course for enhancement of conscious labor discipline and the eradication of bureaucratism, corruption, protectionism, drunkenness, drug abuse and illicit income; for the formation of socially sensible demands for every Soviet person, a healthy lifestyle, an intolerance toward acquisitiveness and philistinism; and for a general enhancement of legality and order, examining the rights and responsibilities of every citizen in a continuous unity.

To work toward a government youth policy, providing reliable social defenses to young workers, kolkhoz workers, specialists, cooperative members, students, and those studying at professional vocation schools. To increase expenditures for public education and public health. To accelerate the preparation of proposals to intensify government assistance to young people and internationalist troops with wounds or work-related injuries. Emphasis must be placed upon the creation of conditions for constructive leisure activities for workers, youth and children; government allocations must be made to provide for the unfailing fulfillment of social norm of the development of the material base of culture, physical culture and sports, television and radio, publishing, and the expansion of trade union newspapers and journals.

To assist in all possible ways the acceptance of the government program of esthetic education for the population. To support strict observance of the principle of social justice in cultural policy, and the elimination of disproportion in cultural development in various regions of the country. To actively bring to life democratic methods of social and governmental leadership in the spiritual field, and to achieve the trade unions' broad access to the radio and television channels, and other mass communication media.

To accelerate the discussion of the draft of the USSR Law on the Rights of the Trade Unions in the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to achieve its acceptance in the current year. To provide social defense for workers fulfilling elected duties in the trade unions.

To fully support the peace-loving policy of the Soviet state, the aspiration of the workers of all Earth to live as neighbors in peace.

To assist the USSR's active participation in the struggle for the 50-percent reduction in offensive strategic nuclear weapons, a prohibition and destruction of chemical and bacteriological weapons, a substantive reduction in conventional arms and troop strengths, and a ban on all types of atomic testing. To achieve, within the framework of the International Labor Organization, the acceptance of a convention in defense of the rights and interests of workers.

In entrusting this mandate to the first USSR people's deputies for trade unions, the AUCCTU expresses its absolute confidence in the ability of each of them to actively and steadfastly represent the interests of the most massive public organization of workers in the highest organ of state power in word and in deed; they will apply all effort to the most timely resolution of the tasks of society's renewal, as set forward by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference and the 18th USSR Congress of Trade Unions.

Council of Ministers Resolution on Food Supply

PM1104153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 Second Edition pp 2,3

["USSR Council of Ministers Resolution of 5 April 1989 On Improving the Food Supply of the Country's Population on the Basis of Radically Boosting Efficiency and Further Developing Agro-Industrial Production-"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In order to saturate the consumer market with food products and meet Soviet people's food requirements on the basis of radically boosting the efficiency of and further developing agro-industrial production, the USSR Council of Ministers resolves:

1. In view of the urgent need to overcome within a short time the strained situation with regard to the resolution of the food problem and guided by the directives of the 27th party congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, to effect radical changes in the strategy for implementing agrarian policy, on the premise that the most important areas of agrarian policy at present should be as follows:

to resolutely transfer to the development of agro-industrial production on the basis of diverse forms of ownership, use, and administration of property, the creation of equal economic conditions for all kinds of economic activity—collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes], processing and other enterprises, leaseholders' organizations, lease collective cooperatives, peasant farms, and citizens' personal subsidiary plots—and to comprehensively reinforcing their integration ties;

to grant full independence to the basic agricultural production link on questions of planning and disposal of the output produced and economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] income;

to transfer management functions in agro-industrial production to the union republics and boost the role and responsibility of the union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local executive committees [ispolkoms] for satisfying the population's demand for food by increasing production of the latter in the localities;

to restructure the organizational management structure of agro-industrial production, clearly separate state and economic functions, further democratize production relations, and give the basic production link the rights to form self-management organs. The main task of these organizations should be the provision of services to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, leaseholders' organizations, lease collective cooperatives, and peasant farms;

to effect radical changes in investment policy guaranteeing its social thrust, accelerate scientific and technical progress, and ensure the priority development of industrial processing sectors;

to further reinforce the material and technical base within the agro-industrial complex and ensure its thorough retooling, with the active involvement of all economic sectors in this most important business;

to switch to new principles of organizing purchases of agricultural produce for deliveries to all-union and republican reserves, and also for local consumption in view of the restructuring of planning, management, and material and technical supply;

and to increase supplies of agricultural produce by comprehensively reinforcing and developing enterprises' and organizations' subsidiary farms and broadening new forms of integrating industrial and agricultural potential.

The Main Tasks in Increasing Food Resources Within the Country

2. Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local ispolkoms must ensure a rapid increase in food resources in order to improve the situation with regard to food supplies over the next few years, secure a substantial breakthrough in this work in the 13th 5-Year Plan, achieve a qualitatively new level in meeting the population's food requirements, and organize regular trade in food products.

They must meet the population's demand for the following products in accordance with rational consumption norms under the prevailing food supply structure: milk, dairy products, and vegetables in 1991-1992, vegetable oil no later than 1994, meat and meat products in 1994-1995, fruits and berries in 1995.

Union republic councils of ministers, local ispolkoms, and economic organs must concentrate their efforts on rapidly increasing the output of agricultural produce and food products. They must ensure the production of basic types of output in the requisite volumes in order to resolve the aforementioned tasks of meeting the population's demand for these products.

They must establish a procedure whereby gross grain production is considered in terms of its physical mass after finishing work (cleaning and drying) instead of in terms of tank weight.

3. Union republic councils of ministers must take steps to ensure a 4.7- to 5.4-percent annual increase in food products in the 13th 5-Year Plan, and ensure a 26- to 30-percent increase in the manufacture of such products in 1991-1995.

They must raise the production of food products to R198-204 billion in 1995 (at current retail prices).

4. It is deemed advisable to introduce as of the 13th 5-Year Plan the formation of state orders for deliveries of food and agricultural raw materials to meet all-union and republic requirements alone. The state order does not change within the 5-year plan and must be fulfilled.

All-union reserves comprise the country's total requirements in terms of grain for the production of bread, bread products, groat products, and macaroni, and also in forage grain earmarked for interrepublican redistribution, taking into consideration agricultural specialization in the union republics. All the union republics' other requirements in grain for feed and other purposes are met from their own production. Stable volumes for grain deliveries to all-union reserves of 77 million tonnes per year must be established for the 13th 5-Year Plan. The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases and the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], together with the councils of ministers of the union republics, must elaborate and implement measures to stimulate an additional 8- to 10 million-tonne inflow of grain per year into all-union reserves.

All-union reserves for other types of food and agricultural raw materials are formed only in the volumes necessary to meet general state requirements and interrepublican redistribution.

Republic reserves are formed in the union republics in amounts necessary to organize supplies for republic consumers and for interoblast redistribution. Here the union republic councils of ministers proceed on the premise that they have responsibility for meeting the food requirements of the population in territories under their jurisdiction.

All food and agricultural raw materials in excess of state orders are sent for local consumption or may be sold independently by their producers.

5. Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, local ispolkoms, and economic organs must elaborate and implement measures to reduce loss of output and work persistently to reinforce raw material production zones for sugar refineries, canneries, and starch syrup production units, bring processing enterprises and storage bases as close as possible to production areas, expand the construction of workshops and areas for processing agricultural output directly on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, agro-industrial associations, agro-combines, and other units. By employing progressive technologies that ensure reduced wastage of raw materials and manufactured output, comprehensive utilization, and thorough processing they should increase food resources by R27-30 billion in 1995, which will account for more than 60 percent of the overall increase.

Special attention must be paid to boosting product quality and ensuring that products reach the consumer packaged and wrapped.

6. Taking into consideration interrepublican division of labor within the agro-industrial complex, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, kray soviet executive committees [krayispolkoms], and oblast soviet executive committees [oblispolkoms] must elaborate comprehensive programs for a qualitative improvement in the population's food supply for the years 1991-1995 and ensure their implementation, with the extensive involvement of scientific establishments, on the basis of proposals put forward by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing and other enterprises. Here they must proceed on the premise that the union republics have the following tasks:

the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] must provide the republic's population with basic food products and take part in shaping all-union grain, meat, milk, potato, and fruit and vegetable reserves, meet livestock farmers' demand for feed grain, and increase production and deliveries of durum wheat grain, millet, and buckwheat;

the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], in addition to supplying the republic's population with basic types of food and meeting feed crop requirements, must supply grain, meat, milk, sugar, vegetable oil, and fruit and vegetables to all-union reserves;

the Belorussian SSR, the Lithuanian SSR, the Latvian SSR, and the Estonian SSR, while organizing the population's guaranteed provisioning of meat, milk, eggs, potatoes, must increase deliveries of these products to all-union reserves;

the Uzbek SSR, the Tajik SSR, and the Turkmen SSR, while retaining their specialization in cotton cultivation and increasing production of all kinds of livestock farming and crop farming produce for their own consumption, must increase deliveries of fresh and processed melon crops, vegetables, fruits, berries, and grapes to all-union reserves;

the Kazakh SSR must increase food production to improve supplies to the republic's population and also deliveries to all-union grain, meat, milk, and fruit and vegetable reserves;

the Georgian SSR must boost the production level of livestock farming products for its own consumption and increase deliveries of tea, subtropical berries, and potatoes to all-union reserves;

the Azerbaijan SSR must develop livestock farming at rapid rates and also increase deliveries of table grapes and processed grape products, tea, berries, and early vegetables to all-union reserves while stabilizing cotton production;

the Moldavian SSR must increase deliveries to all-union reserves of fresh and processed fruits and berries, grapes, and vegetables and vegetable oil, sugar, and livestock farming products while improving the supply of basic types of food products to the republic's population;

the Kirghiz SSR must increase food production to meet the demands of the republic's population and ensure deliveries to all-union reserves of vegetables, fruits, berries, melon crops, and livestock farming products;

the Armenian SSR must supply all-union reserves with fresh and processed early potatoes, vegetables, fruits, and grapes.

7. The USSR Council of Ministers draws particular attention to the need to take steps to reinforce the effect of price formation on the economic interests of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, leaseholders' organizations, lease collective cooperatives, and peasant farms with a view to increasing deliveries, enhancing quality, and reducing production costs for food and agricultural raw materials.

In implementing this work it must:

boost the effectiveness of incentives for the production of produce in regions with the most favorable natural and climatic conditions;

enhance the cost-cutting effect of prices by substantially reducing the number of price zones and also removing numerous price markups that have no bearing on the qualitative parameters of the produce;

rationally combine centrally fixed prices for the end output from the agro-industrial complex with extensive utilization of contract prices;

strictly observe equivalence in exchanges between the agrarian and other sectors of the national economy;

consistently implement a policy of correlating price policy with the tasks of increasing the population's real income and exercising more fully the principles of social justice.

8. Proceeding on the basis of the general principles for restructuring regional policy and enhancing local management organs' responsibility for reliably supplying the population with all kinds of food, and in order to increase the effectiveness of agro-industrial production, the rights of enterprises and organizations producing and processing agricultural output and also of local ispolkoms in the sphere of fixing prices for food and agricultural raw materials must be substantially broadened. In view of the need to maintain social protection for working people's vital interests at the requisite level and ensure a rational production structure, union organs are to continue to establish the following:

state retail prices for bread, meat, fish, milk, and processed products, sugar, vegetable oil, tea, children's food, tobacco, wines and liquors, and certain other goods;

state purchase and wholesale prices for the kinds of output for which state retail prices are fixed at central level and also prices for wool, cotton, flax, leather, sheepskin, and fur and other kinds of output and raw materials listed by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Output delivered to all-union and republic reserves for the state order is bought at state purchase and wholesale prices. Purchases of produce in excess of the state order are made on the basis of a contract between the processing procurement enterprises and kolkhozes, sovkhozes, leaseholders' organizations, lease collective cooperatives, peasant farms, and citizens' personal subsidiary plots.

It is established that as of 1990 prices for potatoes, table grapes, fruits and vegetables, and also products produced from them, including preserves, are set by suppliers and consumers and agreed by the sides. These conditions also apply to deliveries of the aforementioned produce to all-union and republic reserves.

Subsidies are to be paid to processing enterprises dealing with food and agricultural raw materials for end output using funds from the appropriate regions' budgets where this output is consumed.

Measures to Further Develop the Material and Technical Base of the Agro-Industrial Complex and Enhance the Effectiveness of Its Use

9. Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, city soviet executive committees [gorispolkoms], and rayon soviet executive committee committees [rayispolkoms] must take steps to considerably increase the return on the production potential created within the agro-industrial complex and eliminate shortcomings in the use of land, equipment, and chemicalization systems. In order to do this they must step up work to shape a qualitatively new material and technical base, making maximum use of the potential of associations, enterprises, and organizations from all industrial sectors located on territories under their jurisdiction. By the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan they should have mainly completed the creation of a modern food production industry.

By increasing the effectiveness of agro-industrial production in agriculture it is necessary to ensure within the 13th 5-Year Plan a 15- to 17-percent increase in the gross yield per hectare of agricultural land in comparison with the level achieved, a 33-percent increase in labor productivity, and a 20- to 25-percent increase in yield through the use of mineral fertilizers. There must be a 5- to 10-percent reduction in the materials-intensiveness of agro-industrial complex output, and feed outlay per unit of livestock farming output must be reduced to normative indicators.

10. In order to resolve the problem of qualitatively improving the food supply and accelerating the social restructuring of the countryside, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local ispolkoms must take steps to enhance the efficiency of capital investment utilization within the agro-industrial complex. Particular attention must be drawn to the inadmissibility of dissipating capital investments around numerous construction sites, the increase in costs, and the prolongation of the time taken for facilities to be constructed and attain rated capacity.

State plans must make provision for the economic priority of developing the agro-industrial complex in the 13th 5-Year Plan and during their practical implementation. It is deemed advisable to increase capital investments in 1991-1995 in comparison with the 12th 5-Year Plan (using all sources of finance) in the nonproduction sphere of the countryside by 50 percent, in highway construction by 180 percent, and in the radical retooling of industrial enterprises processing agricultural and other output within the agro-industrial complex by 50 percent.

When elaborating and implementing investment programs, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Construction [Gosstroy], the USSR Ministry of Finance, and union republic councils of ministers must make provision for the requisite supply of resources and the development of construction organizations, proceeding on the basis of the planned overall volumes of capital investments made using funds earned by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, industrial enterprises within the agro-industrial complex, and also from republic and local budgets, bank credits, state centralized investments, and funds from public organizations and individual developers.

Proceeding on the basis of the demands of the economic reform and the General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Self-Management and Self-Financing, they must primarily back up their own resources provided by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, industrial enterprises, individual developers, and leaseholders—resources that are channeled into capital investments—with all the requisite resources and capacities from construction organizations.

11. The USSR Council of Ministers draws the special attention of union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases to the need for cardinal changes in implementing investment policy in the sphere of land reclamation. Financial and material resources must be channeled, above all, into the reconstruction and qualitative improvement of irrigated and drained land, the protection of soil against wind and water erosion, the radical improvement of underproductive agricultural land, and the creation and introduction of new water-saving technologies.

It is deemed necessary, as of 1990, to entrust the functions of client with regard to planning and implementing reclamation measures to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises and organizations, as well as to organs of economic leadership of the agro-industrial complex (at all levels of management).

12. USSR Council of Ministers standing organs, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], the ministries of the machine-building complex and of the defense sectors of

industry, and union republic councils of ministers are to draw up and implement the necessary measures for the qualitative transformation of the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, as well as for the production and delivery to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing enterprises of the most important types of material and technical resources in accordance with the set targets.

The ministries of the machine-building complex and of the defense sectors of industry are to pay special attention to enhancing the quality and reliability of the material and technical means and complexes of machinery and equipment delivered to the countryside, which make it possible to make wide use of intensive technologies and to mechanize the work of lessees, on peasant farms and citizens' private subsidiary plots.

The USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, and union republic councils of ministers are to take measures to further develop the mechanization and electrification of agricultural production and make wider use of electricity in the sphere of municipal and domestic services. The reliability and quality of the electricity supply are to be enhanced, the development and introduction of progressive energy-saving technologies and new types of electrical equipment are to be ensured, and the use of nontraditional energy sources is to be expanded considerably.

The USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, other ministries producing mineral fertilizers and plant protection chemicals, and union republic councils of ministers are to increase attention to questions of improving the quality of mineral fertilizers and plant protection chemicals and take measures to construct new enterprises for the production of chemicalization agents and, above all, phosphorous fertilizers.

It is to be noted that in recent years there has been a sharp slowing up in the creation of new capacities for the production of mineral fertilizers, plant protection agents, and biotechnological products. The councils of ministers of individual union republics and local soviet ispolkoms fail to understand the importance of developing chemicalization and biotechnologization for increasing production of agricultural products, and they hinder the organization of new production facilities on their territory and the modernization of existing enterprises.

For the purpose of enhancing the interest of republic and local organs in the siting of chemical and biotechnological production facilities, the USSR Gosplan is to provide for the priority allocation of this output to the krays and oblasts on whose territory the said enterprises are sited.

Union republic councils of ministers are to resolve the question of fully satisfying kolkhoz and sovkhoz requirements for lime and gypsiferous materials. The creation of a material and technical base in every rayon and on every farm to receive, store, and prepare for use mineral fertilizers, plant protection agents, amelioration chemicals, and biotechnological products is to be completed during the 13th 5-Year Plan.

13. Union republic councils of ministers are to examine the question of significantly improving repair work, making more efficient use of the repair capacities of the agro-industrial complex, and organizing production of the necessary machinery and equipment there.

The attention of union republic councils of ministers is to be drawn to the continuing inadmissible practice of overstating markups on agricultural equipment supplied to kolkhozes and sovkhozes and other material resources, as well as overstating prices for work on repairing and technically servicing machinery and equipment. Wider use is to be made of cooperative forms of production and technical services in the countryside.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases and union republic councils of ministers are to ensure that scientific establishments are involved in drawing up in 1990 a master scheme for the development of the repair and service base of the agro-industrial complex for the period through 2005, providing in it for the organization and expansion of in-house repair and technical servicing of machinery, equipment, and instruments using the resources of producer machine-building enterprises, and its phased introduction is to be ensured.

To this end the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the ministries of the defense sectors of industry, and other USSR ministries and departments producing machinery, equipment, and instruments for the agro-industrial complex are to prepare in 1989 proposals for the broad organization of an efficient system of in-house repairs and technical servicing of complex equipment supplied to enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex.

14. The USSR Council of Ministers points out that in recent years there have been no appreciable advances in material and technical supplies for kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing enterprises. This elicits justified complaints from leaders and specialists and diverts them from their main production activity. Attaching exceptionally great significance to improved material and technical supplies for the accelerated resolution of the food problem, the USSR Gossnab and union republic councils of ministers are to be entrusted with taking decisive measures to eliminate the existing shortcomings in this matter and accelerating the switch to wholesale

trade in the main kinds of material and technical resources, while preserving centralized supply only for the range in shortest supply (motor fuel, phosphorous fertilizers, individual kinds of equipment and construction materials). Account is to be taken of the Central Union of Consumer Societies [Tsentrosoyuz] decision that consumer cooperative organizations will take an active part in this work.

It is deemed expedient to ensure material and technical supplies to enterprises of the agro-industrial complex according to the territorial principle. To this end the USSR Gossnab, union republic councils of ministers, and their local organs are to be made wholly responsible for organizing reliable supplies of material and technical resources to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, subsidiary rural farms, processing and other state enterprises, lessees' organizations, cooperatives of lease collectives, peasant farms, and citizens' private subsidiary plots.

Together with the Tsentrosoyuz, the USSR Gossnab, union republic councils of ministers, and the USSR Ministry of Trade are to ensure reliable supplies of material and technical resources to peasant farms and citizens' private subsidiary plots on the basis of widely developing the retail trade network in rural localities designed for selling these resources.

All-union, republic, kray, and oblast material and technical supply organs for the agro-industrial complex are to be transferred to the USSR Gossnab system with the commodity distribution network, while preserving as far as possible their organizational structure and the functions fulfilled by the USSR Agrosnab [agricultural supply organization: precise expansion unknown].

Main Areas for Accelerating Scientific and Technical Progress in the Agro-Industrial Complex

15. Union republic councils of ministers, local soviet ispolkoms, and economic organs are to implement the necessary measures to create conditions for kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, lessees' organizations, cooperatives of lease collectives, and peasant farms to become increasingly receptive to scientific and technical progress in terms of their economic potential, their cadres' qualifications, and their ability to run things and to be enabled to quickly assimilate scientific and technical achievements.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, other USSR Council of Ministers standing organs, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKhNiL], union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, and local soviet ispolkoms are to ensure:

the orientation of the activities of scientific establishments in the sphere of scientific research toward, above all, technological support for kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, lessees' organizations, cooperatives of lease collectives, and peasant farms;

close integration between science and production by creating and expanding a network of science-and-production systems and associations and developing contract relations between the main components of agro-industrial production and intersectoral scientific and technical complexes, academy and sectoral scientific research institutes, higher educational institutions, and planning and design and technological organizations;

the broadening of cooperative principles in the organization and practical realization of scientific research. To this end wide use is to be made of economically accountable scientific consultancy and servicing firms and other progressive forms of scientific support;

the elaboration during 1989-1990 and the implementation of a system of measures to radically improve the supply of information and service to the basic component of the agro-industrial complex on questions of the development of scientific and technical progress.

16. The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, ministries and departments of the agro-industrial complex, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the VASKhNiL, and union republic councils of ministers are to concentrate the resources and means of agrarian science and agro-industrial production in the following priority areas during 1989-1995:

in crop farming—intensive soil-protection and moisture-saving technologies and scientifically substantiated crop rotations are to be assimilated, a deficit-free balance of nutrients in the soil and, on this basis, the restoration of the land's fertility are to be sought, an ecological equilibrium is to be ensured in agricultural production, new strains and hybrids are to be created with set parameters, and integrated plant protection systems are to be introduced on the basis of a rational combination of chemicals and biological methods. Enhanced agricultural stability is to be ensured under conditions of frequently repeated droughts and a changing climate, and the following increases in yields are to be achieved on kolkhozes and sovkhozes by 1995: at least 6-7 quintals per hectare for grain crops, 50 quintals for potatoes, 9-10 quintals for vegetable oil, and 35-40 quintals per hectare for beet sugar.

Intensive techniques for cultivating grain crops are to be assimilated over an area of 60 million hectares in 1995. This is to ensure at least 70 percent of the increase in grain.

In the 13th 5-Year Plan the switch to intensive techniques for cultivating corn for grain is to be made in full, with a yield of at least 50 quintals per hectare and 70-80 quintals on irrigated land.

The transfer of seed growing to an industrial basis is to be ensured. The time taken to introduce new strains is to be reduced to 3-5 years. The genetic qualities of hybrid seeds are to be enhanced sharply.

A package of measures is to be implemented in the 13th 5-Year Plan to make efficient use of reclaimed land and increase its productivity 50 percent. Specific water consumption is to be reduced 25 percent, and the scale of work on preventing soil erosion and salination is to be increased;

in livestock raising—production is to be stepped up by deepening specialization and switching livestock sectors to an intensive path of development and the wide use of the lease.

On the basis of improved feeding and the use of progressive methods of pedigree selection work, the average milk yield per cow on kolkhozes and sovkhozes is to be increased by 700-800 kg by 1995, and an increase of 30-40 percent in meat production per standard head is to be ensured. The number of cows improved by the Holstein-Friesian breed is to increase 35 percent in 1995.

Herds of cows with a yield of at least 8,000-10,000 kg of milk a year and with average daily weight gains of 1,000-1,500 grams in young cattle during fattening are to be created at livestock breeding centers.

Hybridization is to be organized on a wide scale in hog raising, so that the proportion of young hybrid pigs amounts to 70 percent of the number being fattened.

Pedigree work and the technique of raising sheep are to be improved, and up to 4.5 kg of pure wool fiber is to be sheared per sheep in pedigree flocks;

in fishing—efforts must be focused on intensifying commercial fishing in inland waters and accelerating the development of fish farming, making rational use of fish stocks in maritime regions adjacent to the USSR's coast, further developing the material and technical base of commercial fishing, developing and introducing resource-saving biotechnologies in fish cultivation, improving selection and breeding work, raising the level of mechanization of fishery processes, and improving the comprehensive preparation and processing of fish. In the 13th 5-Year Plan the amount of marketable fish produced in inland waters must double and the volume taken from the warm waters of industrial enterprises and power stations increased four to five times;

in the timber industry—it is necessary to organize the multipurpose use of timber which does not deplete stocks and to double production of output per unit of land by making full use of the timber stock for the production of the main types of lumber, consumer goods, and feed products for animals and organic fertilizers. By 1995 it is necessary to double the production of food products from the forest by expanding the cultivation on plantations of nut, fruit, and berry trees, medicinal plants, and mushrooms. An area of 1.5-2 million hectares of protected tree plantations must be created in the 13th 5-Year Plan;

in the processing sectors—the transfer from the automation of individual technological processes and sections to the creation of automated flow lines, shops, and enterprises must be completed. The management of production processes and output quality at a fundamentally new technological level must be ensured. It is necessary to accelerate the elaboration of techniques for the production of foodstuffs using the latest physical, chemical, and biological methods with the required composition and characteristics and a reduced sugar and fat content, thus ensuring the maximum production of finished produce per unit of raw materials and resources.

Steps must be taken to considerably increase the commissioning in 1989-1995 of highly mechanized small- and medium-capacity enterprise units and complexes for the slaughter of livestock, meat processing, the production of canned fruits and vegetables, and the production of cheese and other dairy products.

The proportion of industrial processing of fruit and vegetables in finished products and semi-finished goods must be increased to 40-45 percent and of potatoes to 20 percent of the recommended consumption norms;

in the sphere of retooling agro-industrial production—between 1990 and 1995 it is necessary to switch to the production of fundamentally new machine systems which ensure the comprehensive mechanization of the production of agricultural produce in various natural zones, and to sell them wholesale to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, leasing organizations, the cooperatives of lease collectives, and peasant holdings.

The USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building and other USSR ministries and departments which produce machines and equipment for the agro-industrial complex must ensure between 1989-1995 a two-threefold increase in the reliability and an improvement in the quality of machines and equipment for agriculture and the processing industry. It is necessary to increase the production of small-scale mechanization equipment in the light of the needs of leaseholders, peasant holdings, citizens' private subsidiary plots, and horticultural and truck farming associations.

The USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building must accelerate the creation of capacities and increase the production of wheeled cultivator tractors in quantities which will satisfy the demand for such tractors by 1995;

in the economy—attention is to be focused on elaborating the scientific bases and practical recommendations which ensure:

accelerated development of the agrarian sector on the basis of a refinement of ownership relations and multifarious forms of economic management including leaseholding organizations, lease collective cooperatives, peasant holdings, and citizens' private subsidiary plots;

the radical restructuring of the mechanism for managing the development of agro-industrial complex sectors, the transfer to economic methods under conditions of the broad independence of the basic link of production in planning, output sales, the distribution of incomes, and material incentives;

the application of the new principles of price formation, and the organization of purchases of agricultural produce and systems for the country's food supply in conditions of regional self-management and self-financing.

17. The activity of scientific organizations in the agro-industrial complex must be radically restructured, paying special attention to the need for their closer coordination with production. The transfer of all scientific institutions and planning and design organizations in the agro-industrial complex to the principles of economic accountability must be completed in 1989-1990.

The switch must be made to the targeted financing of specific scientific research programs. A procedure must be established whereby scientific institutions are paid on a contract basis for their scientific and technical development work. Development work is to be financed through the resources of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, leasing organizations, lease collective cooperatives, republic agro-industrial committees and formations, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the VASKhNiL, and other clients interested in such development work.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and union republic councils of ministers are given 3 months to draw up a procedure for financing scientific research programs of statewide and republic significance using the resources of the union budget and the budgets of union republics.

18. The USSR Council of Ministers notes that the successful solution of the food problem and the attainment of a qualitatively new level in the nation's food supply require a radical change in the attitude of specialists and leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing enterprises, and organizations in the agro-industrial complex to the use of new and progressive forms of labor and production organization, the improvement of forms and methods of training and retraining cadres in the mass trades, leaseholders, and specialists.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms must ensure the training and retraining of enterprise specialists and leaders from among those workers capable of mastering the new methods of economic management and instill in them a sense of enterprise, initiative, and the ability to unite and lead labor collectives.

On the Main Principles Governing the Improvement of the Management of the Country's Agro-Industrial Complex

19. The USSR Council of Ministers believes that the line of consistent expansion of the union republics' rights and the imposition on them of the full responsibility for ensuring the population's food supply demand the radical restructuring of management in the agro-industrial complex by separating the relevant functions and powers at all levels of leadership.

The fulfillment of this work must be based on the need:

to observe the provisions of the USSR Laws on the State Enterprise (Association) and on the Cooperative System and to organize the activity of enterprises and organs of economic management on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing;

to ensure the further democratization of the forms and methods of management at all levels, to eliminate superfluous regulation of activity, to increase the independence and enhance the role and responsibility of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, agro-industrial formations and processing enterprises for the end results of work;

to ensure the clear demarcation between the functions of the state and economic management of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises and the flexible combination of state and social principles in management;

to radically change the system of management of agro-industrial production in rayons, oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics by forming organs of economic self-management on voluntary principles and delegating to them the functions of the main production link and agro-industrial formation.

20. In connection with the expansion of the powers and responsibility of the union republics in food supply questions, it is deemed expedient to abolish the USSR Gosagroprom and to create the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases as a standing body of the USSR government.

The main tasks of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases are:

the improvement of economic relations in the agro-industrial complex, the regulation of its reciprocal relations with other sectors of the national economy, the establishment of prospects for the development of this complex, the elaboration of major statewide programs for increasing food resources in the country in the light of the fullest utilization of the potential of each region, the implementation of measures to ensure the broad introduction into production of scientific and technical achievements, the formation of all-union food stocks and state reserves, and the centralized distribution of the most important types of food and agricultural raw materials;

the organization of the work and monitoring of the activity of land management, veterinary, and other statewide services.

21. To ensure purchases and supplies of produce to the all-union and republic stocks as well as for local consumption and the organization of the effective monitoring of their fulfillment, it is deemed expedient to create in the autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts the appropriate state services using the existing complement of workers of agro-industrial production management organs. In so doing it is necessary to work on the basis that they may carry out their work to organize the conclusion of contracts for the fulfillment of the state order together with kolkhozes, sovkhozes, agricultural combines, agricultural firms, associations, leaseholders' organizations, and peasant holdings, and closely collaborate with councils (unions) or agro-industrial formations.

State services for the purchase of agricultural produce are allocated the most significant centrally distributed resources, which they use as incentives to producers of agricultural produce and raw materials when concluding economic contracts, including contacts to supply all-union and republic stocks.

22. In connection with the abolition of the USSR Gosagroprom and the delimitation of the spheres of cooperation between union and republic organs of management, responsibilites are to be allocated as follows:

the USSR Gosplan—planning the development of the agro-industrial complex;

the USSR Gossnab—material and technical supply to enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex;

the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Questions—methodological leadership in the sphere of labor organization and payment for workers in the agro-industrial compiex;

the USSR State Committee for Prices—the elaboration and approval of centrally set prices for agro-industrial complex produce;

and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations—support for the export and import of agricultural produce and raw materials in keeping with its powers.

23. In the implementation of measures to improve the organizational structure of the country's agro-industrial complex, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, and kray, oblast, city, and rayon ispolkoms must proceed on the basis that the intermediate tiers of management must be eliminated, the size of the administrative and managerial staff must be reduced, and interference in the operational and economic activity of the basic link of production must be prevented.

24. The draft decree "On changes in the system of the organs of management of the country's agro-industrial complex" must be submitted for examination to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The USSR Council of Ministers stresses that in view of the great difficulties with the population's food supply it is necessary to comprehensively utilize the national economy's potential, to conduct organizational and practical work at a fundamentally new level, and to radically change its content. It is necessary to do everything possible to revive in each worker the interest inherent in a real master. Only by this method will it be possible to achieve major successes in implementing the party's new agrarian policy and change the situation first and foremost in the primary link of production. To this end it is necessary to use the entire range of economic, organizational, and legal means, and to give paramount importance to the restructuring of economic relations and to collective, family, and lease contracts, the cooperative system, and the development of various forms of ownership relations.

The most important task facing union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and kray, oblast, city, and rayon ispolkoms is to lead this work and to constantly support working people's creative exploration and initiative. It is necessary to comprehensively promote the development of democratic forms of management. Special attention must be paid to training and educating workers of the new type who are well versed in economics, comprehensively educated, and professionally trained. The most important tasks now are to greatly enhance the prestige of peasant labor, and to ensure consistent progress along the path of improving food supplies to the country's population.

N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

M. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Council of Ministers Resolution on Farm Management

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[USSR Council of Ministers Resolution dated 5 April 1989: "On the Radical Restructuring of Economic Relations and Management in the Country's Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] With a view to improving food supplies to the country's population on the basis of enhancing the efficiency of agro-industrial production, accelerating the transition to progressive economic relations, further improving management, and creating favorable conditions for productive work by collective farms [kolkhoz], state farms [sovkhoz], processing and other enterprises, leasehold organizations, lease collective cooperatives, and peasant farms, the USSR Council of Ministers **resolves** that:

1. The economic management mechanism in the agro-industrial complex shall be restructured on the basis that the following highly important principles form the core of the fundamental changes:

development as the main component of agro-industrial production together with kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and the processing enterprises of leasehold organizations, lease collective cooperatives, and peasant farms, viewing them together with citizens' personal subsidiary farms as economically equal forms of economic management;

resolute transition to leaseholding as an effective form of economically accountable relations that most fully accords with the demands of harmoniously combining the interests of citizens, enterprises, and society as a whole, making it possible to create the necessary conditions for overcoming peasants' alienation from the land and other means of production;

the comprehensive production and social development of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing and other enterprises and organizations through economically accountable income as the main source of funds for these purposes under the conditions of self-management and self-financing;

the utilization of forms and systems of pay which would make pay strictly dependent on the end results of economic activity and promote the eradication of any manifestations of wage-leveling;

profound changes to the economic relations between the main component of the agro-industrial complex and state and economic management organs by granting the agro-industrial complex extensive rights in planning production development, price formation, output sales, and the distribution of economically accountable income;

transition to fundamentally new, direct ties between kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises and procurement organizations based on mutual economic interest in and responsibility for the fulfillment of state orders and contract obligations;

and radical restructuring at all levels of the agro-industrial complex management system, transfer of the formation of management structures to democratic principles, subordination of their activity to the interests of the fundamental unit—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, leasehold organizations, lease collective cooperatives, and peasant farms—the development of citizens' personal subsidiary farms, collective horticulture, and truck farming, and the resolute liberation of organs of state leadership and economic management from the fulfillment of functions that do not belong to them.

Improving Planning and Economically Accountable Relations in the Agro-Industrial Complex

2. The USSR Council of Ministers notes that at the present stage of the country's socioeconomic development the accelerated resolution of the food problem is possible provided that the necessary economic and organizational prerequisites are created for effective work by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing and other enterprises, leasehold organizations, lease collective cooperatives, peasant farms, and all working people, and for their high responsibility for the end results of work.

On the basis that kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises and organizations are being given full autonomy in planning and carrying out production and financial activity it shall be laid down that, 1 year before the start of the 5-year plan, they shall be apprised of the control figures for purchases of the most important kinds of agricultural output, which reflect social demand and are not of a directive nature, and shall also be informed of the normatives for payments to the budget. At the same time, farms will be informed of purchase prices and the conditions for output sales.

Production structure, volume of output sales, and other production and economic indicators (apart from indicators of relations with the budget) shall be drawn up by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises independently, bearing in mind the proposals of lease and contract collectives, the demand for their output from processing enterprises, procurement organizations, and other consumers, and the need to further step up production and increase economically accountable income.

3. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises conclude contracts for output sales on a voluntary basis with organizations and enterprises involved in the procurement and processing of agricultural output. These contracts, as a rule, shall be for 5-year terms by mutual agreement of the sides.

Farms undertake on a voluntary basis to execute state orders for output deliveries to all-union and republic stocks.

After meeting their contract commitments—including those as regards state orders for deliveries to all-union and republic stocks—producers may sell their remaining output as they see fit: to the same procurement or trade organizations, processing enterprises, consumer cooperatives, at kolkhoz markets, or to the public catering system to improve local supply.

4. The following procedure for the drawing up and notification of [dovedeniye] state orders shall be laid down throughout the agro-industrial complex:

in the 5-year plans for the USSR's economic and social development, union republic councils of ministers shall be informed of state orders for the delivery to all-union stocks of grain, potatoes, fruit, vegetables, meat, milk, eggs, processed products, sugar, vegetable oil, unprocessed tea, commercial edible fish products, cotton fiber, flax fiber, fiber from other bast-fiber crops, wool, and furs.

Henceforth, before stable direct economic ties are organized between suppliers and consumers of agricultural output and raw materials, the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan] shall be entitled together with union republic councils of ministers to determine the list of products to be included in the state orders drawn up by union republics, taking account of the products' national economic importance;

state orders for the delivery of produce to all-union and republic stocks shall be ratified in union republics' economic and social development plans. Republic stocks shall be earmarked for supplying republic consumers and interoblast redistribution. Autonomous republic councils of ministers, kray executive committees [krayispolkom], and oblast executive committees [oblispolkom] shall be informed of state orders.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, other agricultural enterprises, and rayon executive committees [rayispolkom] shall not be given state orders on a directive basis. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises shall deliver produce to meet state orders in accordance with contracts concluded with procurement organizations.

Through the departmental procurement organizations tasked with purchasing agricultural produce and raw materials, councils of ministers of union republics (without oblast divisions), autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms shall organize the work to conclude contracts for produce deliveries by kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises, leasehold organizations, lease collective cooperatives, peasant farms, and citizens' personal subsidiary farms on the basis of the state orders given to these procurement organizations for produce deliveries to all-union and republic stocks.

5. Procurement organizations shall carry out measures to encourage farms to deliver produce under contract. These measures will take the form of a pricing system, guaranteed produce sales, guaranteed acceptance of produce directly at the place of production if necessary, centralized shipping, and the utilization of the material and technical resources allocated to procurement organizations for these purposes—above all, for ensuring deliveries to all-union and republic stocks in accordance with state orders. Procurement organizations may also utilize reciprocal sales of mixed feed and other output, provide assistance in equipment supplies and the servicing of processing shops and subsidiary production facilities, and supply other services.

Procurement organizations shall be entitled to stimulate output sales under contract in order to carry out state orders by advancing supplier farms up to 40 percent of the cost of grain and up to 25 percent of the cost of other produce covered by long-term contracts.

The USSR Agro-Industrial Bank [Agroprombank] shall be instructed to provide loans to procurement organizations for these purposes.

6. In drawing up state economic and social development plans the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, together with the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] shall allocate to union republic councils of ministers centrally distributed material resources and state centralized capital investment for the development of highly important agro-industrial complex projects.

With regard to the fact that under the new working conditions the economically accountable income of agricultural, industrial, and other agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations together with union republic budget funds are becoming the main source of investment resources, the construction of the most important new enterprises and projects for scientific research establishments, major reservoirs, hydroelectric power stations, and other water resources improvement installations of all-union and interrepublic importance on the list duly ratified in the state plans for the USSR's economic and social development shall be carried out using all-union budget funds. Union and autonomous republics and local soviet executive committees [ispolkoms] can participate in financing construction of these projects using funds from the relevant budgets.

With a view to increasing returns on the funds invested in land reclamation and enhancing kolkhoz and sovkhoz responsibility for the efficient utilization of irrigated and drained land it shall be deemed expedient as of 1990 to implement:

the construction of land reclamation installations and the fulfillment of work of republic and interoblast importance out of union republic budget funds. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises in the corresponding regions may participate in financing these projects on a proportional basis using their own resources;

the implementation in accordance with concluded contracts of work to improve reclaimed land, amelioration work, and the commissioning of new irrigated and drained land out of kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and other enterprise funds, autonomous republic budgets, and local budgets.

In drawing up the draft USSR State Budget for 1990 the USSR Ministry of Finance shall take account of the changes in the relationship between the all-union budget and union republic budgets which stem from the use of the new procedure for financing the agro-industrial complex.

7. The USSR Council of Ministers believes that existing pay systems in agricultural production run counter to the new forms of economic relations in the countryside and fail to ensure that kolkhozes and sovkhozes achieve high end results in their economic activity.

With a view to intensifying economically accountable principles in work it shall be deemed expedient for sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises to set up an integrated wages fund based on economically accountable income retained after deduction of funds for the development of production, science, technology, and social needs.

Bearing in mind the fact that in a normally functioning economy wage growth should be accompanied by preferential growth in output and labor productivity, the line of ensuring that the rational correlation between the proportion of economically accountable income channeled by sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises into reproduction and the proportion of funds available for labor remuneration be ensured by a corresponding taxation system is to be consistently implemented. It shall be laid down that until the introduction of a taxation system this correlation is to be based on the stable normatives determined in 1989-1990.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises shall independently determine their wages system and its form on the basis of the principles of the economically accountable activity of intrafarm production structures, and shall closely coordinate them with the end results of work.

In order to step up the interest of leading workers and specialists on sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises in the end results of work it shall be deemed expedient for their salaries to be paid out of the corresponding part of the integrated wages fund ratified by the enterprise's labor collective council. In this connection the existing labor remuneration and bonus system for leading workers and specialists at sovkhozes and other state agricultural enterprises shall be abolished as of 1990. Kolkhozes shall be instructed to follow similar procedures in determining the pay of leaders and specialists.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises shall also independently determine systems and forms for the monthly advance of funds for workers' pay, including that of leaders and specialists.

8. Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, rayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases shall enact measures to improve the financial position of agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations, to strengthen the economies of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing and other enterprises, and to improve payment discipline in order to ensure that these organizations break even within the next 1-2 years. In cases where these measures fail to make the work of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises profitable, they may be duly reorganized or abolished with their lands transferred to other kolkhozes, sovkhozes, industrial enterprises, leasehold organizations, lease collective cooperatives, and peasant farms.

Lists of loss-making agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations and the deadlines for their implementation of measures to put them in the black shall be ratified by union republic councils of ministers.

Upon expiry of the deadlines laid down for agricultural enterprises and organizations to eliminate their losses, USSR banks providing finance and credit to such enterprises and organizations shall, if the measures have failed, cut off all finance and credit to these enterprises and organizations.

9. The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosbank, the USSR Agroprombank, and union republic councils of ministers shall review the financial position of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing and other enterprises in the agro-industrial complex which have large bank loans but lack the funds to repay them. Corresponding proposals shall be drawn up within 3 months and submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers.

This work shall be carried out on the basis that the corresponding conditions shall be created for farms' normal functioning in switching to the principles of economic accountability, self-financing, and the extensive use of lease relations.

10. The USSR Council of Ministers views as completely impermissible cases of blatant violations by the leaders of farms and oblast, kray, and republic management

organs of the discipline for deliveries of grain and other produce to the state—violations which create major difficulties in supplying the national economy and the population with foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials and disorganize interrepublic shipments. At the same time, the impermissible practice whereby many leaders ask all-union organs to give republics, krays, and oblasts help in the allocation of grain, grain feed crops, meat, milk, and other produce has become widespread.

Bearing this in mind, a procedure shall be established under which the sides' commitment to mutual economic liability for breaking contractual conditions shall be a mandatory requirement in concluding contracts for deliveries of agricultural produce to all-union and republic stocks.

It shall be deemed expedient that the allocation to a union republic at its request of grain and other agricultural produce in addition to the planned volume should only take place on compensation terms determined by the relevant USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

Union republic councils of ministers shall be instructed to establish a similar procedure for relations with autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts.

11. Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local ispolkoms shall take measures to increase agricultural production and replenish food resources by developing citizens' personal subsidiary farms in every possible way. Close integration between citizens' personal subsidiary farms and kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing enterprises, and trade brokerage cooperatives shall be promoted.

Local ispolkoms, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes shall be instructed to examine and adopt decisions on questions linked with increasing the size of landholdings on citizen's personal subsidiary farms, bearing in mind natural and climatic conditions, regional features, and the opportunities for increasing commercial production of agricultural produce. These farms shall be helped to provide facilities for their territories and to acquire livestock, feed, seed, and planting materials. Citizens shall be assisted in acquiring agricultural equipment, transportation, and construction materials, and in selling their output.

12. The Central Union of Consumer Societies [Tsentrosoyuz] and republic, kray, and oblast unions of consumer trade cooperatives shall be instructed to take effective measures to develop rural consumer societies and create trade brokerage cooperatives and consumer and processing enterprises so as to provide all rural areas with such a network in the next 2-3 years, and to ensure on this basis that as much as possible of the agricultural produce and raw materials produced by peasant farms and citizens' personal subsidiary farms is included in food resources.

On the Creation of an Integrated System of Prices in the Agro-Industrial Complex

13. With a view to enhancing the efficiency of the work of the agro-industrial complex in the new conditions of management, changes are to be introduced in prices policy with the aim of creating an integrated system of prices which will make it possible to gear all agro-industrial production links to the achievement of high end results, intensify the economic integration of agricultural and processing enterprises, create conditions for their efficient work on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing, and ensure the equivalence of exchanges between the agrarian sector and the other sectors of the national economy.

The USSR State Committee on Prices and the USSR Council of Ministers Commission on Food and Purchases are instructed to draw up proposals for new state purchasing prices for agricultural produce and, after coordination with the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Ministry of Finance, to submit them to the USSR Council of Ministers by 1 May 1989 with a view to introducing them as from 1990.

14. During the elaboration of the new state purchasing prices it is necessary to ensure the provision of high economic incentives to increase purchases of produce in specialized commodity production regions which enjoy favorable natural and climatic conditions. There is to be a sharp reduction in the number of price zones, which is to be achieved through amalgamation. Existing differentiated markups and also markups for sales to the state of produce over and above the average level achieved in the 11th 5-Year Plan are to be incorporated in the prices.

No allowance is to be made in the new purchasing prices for costs incurred as a result of poor farm management. Cutting the prime cost of agricultural output is to be viewed as a most important factor in obtaining additional financial resources for strengthening the material and technical base of production and developing the social sphere in the countryside.

15. It is laid down that uniform purchasing prices will apply throughout the country for food grain crops (durum wheat, millet, buckwheat, table peas, oats for oatmeal production, rice, and corn); oil-yielding crops (excluding sunflower); cotton, flax, and other bast crops; tobacco and wool; leather, sheepskin, fur and astrakhan pelt raw materials; and individual crop products used as raw materials in the production of baby and health foods.

Differentiated state purchasing prices are being established in the amalgamated price zones for milk, livestock, sugar beets, soft wheat, rye, various kinds of feed grain (excluding corn), sunflowers, and certain other types of agricultural products.

Potatoes, table grapes, fruit and vegetable products, and goods made from them, including canned food, will be marketed at prices determined by producers and consumers on the basis of contracts, and this includes deliveries to union and republic stocks. Councils of ministers of union republics (where there is no oblast division), autonomous republic councils of ministers, and krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms are to be authorized to lay down maximum retail prices for these types of goods wherever necessary. When these goods are bought at contract prices which exceed the maximum retail prices after deduction of the trade margin, trade and procurement organizations are to be reimbursed for the difference from the appropriate budgets at the point of sale.

16. The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, the USSR State Committee on Prices, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR Ministry of Finance are instructed to determine the general level of the new state purchasing prices for agricultural products. In this they are to:

proceed from the actual payments made in 1988 per unit of output, taking account of payments to enterprises operating on full economic accountability and self-financing as from 1 January 1989, on the basis of the volume of purchases envisaged by the 5-year plan for 1990 without changing the mutual relations with the budget;

compensate agriculture for additional expenditure incurred in connection with the introduction of new deduction rates for social insurance, rent payments, payments for water, and other changes in the relationship between the agro-industrial complex and the budget. Make provision for allocating a proportion of these funds annually in targeted fashion to union republic councils of ministers for financing production and social development of farms located in particularly difficult natural and climatic conditions, and to accelerate the achievement of profitability by economically laggard farms. The list of such farms is to be approved by union republic councils of ministers.

Following the introduction of new wholesale prices and tariffs in industry and transport, the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, the USSR Ministry of Finance, the USSR Gosplan, and the USSR State Committee on Prices are to specify the sum total of the means allocated for the said purposes.

17. Simultaneously with the new purchasing prices, rent payments for kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises located in relatively good natural and climatic conditions are to be introduced. The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the USSR State Committee on Prices are instructed, in cooperation with union republic councils of ministers, to determine the size and approve the procedure for establishing rent payments into the budget.

Councils of ministers of union republics (where there is no oblast division), autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms are instructed to determine differentiated rent payments for every farm in set amounts for a 5-year period on the basis of the number of hectares of agricultural land, with due account for its quality.

18. In connection with the changes in production planning and the organization of procurement in the agro-industrial complex, the further improvement of economic relations, deepening integration between agricultural production and the processing industry, and the formation of new agro-industrial formations and systems, the line toward establishing mutual relations between state procurement organizations and sovkhozes and kolkhozes based on prices for end products is to be consistently pursued. Processing enterprises which produce end products from raw materials supplied by their customers will operate in economic conditions where production costs and payments into the budget are covered by the kolkhozes, sovkhozes, or other suppliers of these raw materials.

Kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises will themselves market at wholesale prices (incorporating established rates of subsidies or turnover tax) products obtained as a result of the processing of agricultural raw materials (sugar, vegetable oil, flax fiber, meat and meat products, milk and dairy products, and other goods) by processing enterprises from raw materials which they have supplied, or at their own production facilities.

19. The USSR State Committee on Prices, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and union republic councils of ministers are instructed to elaborate and introduce, simultaneously with the new purchasing prices, wholesale prices (rates of subsidies or turnover tax) for the output of the processing sectors of industry which will cover economically justified expenditure for the cost of agricultural raw materials, their reception, storage, and processing, and also ensure that normative profit is obtained. In connection with this, payments of state subsidies at the stage of the procurement of agricultural raw materials are to be abolished, and instead reimbursement is to be introduced of the difference between wholesale prices and centrally laid-down retail prices, after deduction from them of the trade margins for the marketing of the finished products by processing enterprises, to be paid from republic, kray, oblast, and city budgets at the point of the consumption of this output. The existing system of rebates and markups on wholesale prices for marketed meat and dairy products is to be abolished.

20. The USSR State Committee for Statistics and the USSR State Committee on Prices are instructed annually to submit to the USSR Council of Ministers information on the price indices and parity in respect of agricultural products and industrial goods supplied to agriculture and tariffs (rates of pay) for services rendered to agricultural enterprises and organizations and, where necessary, to put forward proposals for keeping these prices balanced.

On Improving the Management of the Agro-Industrial Complex

21. With the aim of enhancing the effectiveness of agro-industrial production based on developing economically accountable relations in agriculture and improving its economic ties with other sectors under conditions of expanding autonomy and increasing responsibility on the part of soviet ispolkoms and agro-industrial formations with respect to meeting the population's food needs, it is deemed necessary to restructure all levels of the agro-industrial management system.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms are required in restructuring management to ensure: **in the basic production tier**
the management of the basic production tier based on principles stemming from the need to develop multifarious forms of economic management and the flexible combination of various forms of ownership. Proceeding from this premise, the management organs of the basic production tier are formed by its workers on a strictly voluntary basis in the light of the broad democratization of production relations and self-management; **at rayon level**
the consistent transformation of rayon agro-industrial associations from organs of state management into economically accountable formations, and the extensive dissemination of new organizational forms of agro-industrial integration and cooperation—agro-industrial associations, agricombines, agrifirms, production associations, other associations, and formations set up on a voluntary basis. An agro-industrial formation carries out its activity in accordance with the statute endorsed by its superior management organ—a meeting (conference) of authorized representatives of enterprises and organizations belonging to the formation. The meeting (conference) elects a council and creates an apparatus, which is the working organ of the council, for the day-to-day exercise of the functions devolved on the agro-industrial formation by the enterprises and organizations; **at the level of autonomous republic, kray, and oblast**
the formation of elected economic self-management organs—councils (unions, associations) of agro-industrial formations of autonomous republic, kray, and oblast—to replace existing autonomous republic state agro-industrial committees and kray and oblast agro-industrial committees. Their activity should be aimed at exercising the functions devolved on them by economically accountable associations, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, processing enterprises, organizations of lease-holders, cooperatives of lease collectives, and peasant holdings. They represent the interests of the agro-industrial complex in the relevant autonomous republic councils of ministers and soviet ispolkoms and provide all-around assistance to state procurement organizations in concluding contracts with kolkhozes, sovkhozes, other enterprises and organizations, agrifirms, and peasant holdings.

It resolves to establish that appropriate state services may be set up under autonomous republic councils of ministers and krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms to exercise the functions of monitoring and supervising the observance of legislation on questions pertaining to land utilization and management, veterinary science, quarantine, and product quality and to discharge other tasks.

22. In view of the transfer of territories to principles of self-management and self-financing, union republic councils of ministers are to take measures to further enhance the organizational structure of republic agro-industrial complexes.

Union republic councils of ministers independently determine the organizational structure of the state leadership and economic management of the agro-industrial complex at the republic level, investing it with the functions necessary to ensure a rapid growth in output of foodstuffs and the solution of questions concerned with the comprehensive development of the agro-industrial production.

It is resolved that enterprises and organizations subordinate to the USSR Gosagroprom, excluding enterprises and organizations of unionwide status or those being transferred to USSR ministries and departments according to lists compiled under the procedure laid down by the USSR Council of Ministers, be transferred to republic subordination.

23. It is resolved to charge the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases with coordinating the activity of ministries and departments belonging to the country's agro-industrial complex and the Tsentrosoyuz, the latter retaining the functions and rights provided under its charter.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, in conjunction with other organs of state management:

ensures, on the basis of economic analysis, the elaboration of an overall strategy for the economic, scientific, and technical development of the agro-industrial complex as an integrated whole and statewide programs that incorporate the fullest utilization of the potential of each region of the country;

takes part in forming all-union stocks and state reserves of food and agricultural raw material, including grain resources, and their centralized distribution. The state commission carries out the day-to-day management and monitoring of supplies of produce to the unionwide stock;

carries out measures to improve the economic mechanism and regulate economic relations both in the agro-industrial complex itself and in other national economic complexes;

ensures the implementation of measures to develop priority areas of scientific and technical progress in agriculture and the food sectors of industry;

pursues a uniform policy in the sphere of land utilization and land management and carries out the management of the country's veterinary and quarantine services, the interregional allocation of water resources, and the monitoring of their rational utilization;

frames and implements social policy in the countryside;

consistently implements the line of actively involving the country's agro-industrial complex in the international division of labor and enhancing the effectiveness of its foreign economic ties.

24. In view of the exceptional importance of organizing the provision of scientific services to agro-industrial complex enterprises on a qualitatively new level, the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases is instructed jointly with the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences to draw up within 2 months proposals designed to further improve scientific backup and speed up scientific and technical progress in the country's agro-industrial complex in the light of the CPSU's new agrarian policy and to submit them to the USSR Council of Ministers.

25. It is resolved to grant the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases the right:

to examine draft current and long-term state plans for the economic and social development of the agro-industrial complex submitted by the USSR Gosplan in the light of the proposals of USSR ministries and departments and union republic councils of ministers;

to exercise systematic monitoring of the development of agro-industrial complex sectors and of the activity of other sectors in terms of the supply of the means of production and other resources;

to hear reports from USSR ministries and departments on questions concerning the development of the agro-industrial complex;

to tackle in conjunction with other permanent organs of the USSR Council of Ministers questions touching on the interests of agro-industrial complex sectors;

to take decisions that fall within its competence, which are to be issued in the form of USSR Council of Ministers instructions.

26. It is resolved to charge the USSR Gossnab with organizing the material and technical supply of farms, enterprises, and organizations belonging to the agro-industrial complex. It is resolved to proceed here on the basis that the USSR Gossnab and its organs at local level ensure in conjunction with agro-industrial complex economic management organs the study and identification of material resources required for production and establish long-term, stable, effective economic ties among consumers and suppliers in accordance with state orders first and foremost.

27. The USSR Ministry of Justice, with the participation of interested USSR ministries and departments, is given 6 months within which to prepare and submit to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals on introducing changes stemming from this resolution into current legislation.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers
M. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers

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Development of Republic Relations, Rights Discussed

LD1104110289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 11 Apr 89

[From the "Soyuz" program presented by Vladimir Markin]

[Text] [Markin] Wouldn't you agree that until just recently we knew more about relations between the peoples of different countries than how people live and what problems exist in our republics? The more we find out about this today, the more frequently people of all different nationalities in our country have a desire to meet together at all different levels and discuss pressing problems. An all-union regional scientific and practical conference took place in Ternopol last week on developing relations between nationalities in the USSR, problems, theory, and practice. Correspondent Znon Mkhlik talks about the results.

[Mkhlik] The reports and speeches by staff of the CPSU Central Committee, the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, the secretaries of party committees, and scientists from Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the Soviet Baltic republics, gave a deep and all-round assessment of various aspects of the nationalities policy of the CPSU Central Committee. Improving it is an integral part of renewing society, the conference participants noted. Among the problems that gave rise to vigorous debate were regional financial autonomy, a unified national economic complex, and improving legislation in connection with relations between the nationalities. There was a lively discussion about ways of developing national cultures and interaction between them. The reasons for certain deformations in these spheres were analyzed. We invited some of the conference participants to the microphone. Aleksandr Iosifovich Podbluzhnyy, director of the Yakub Kolas Language Study Institute of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences, shares his opinion.

[Begin Podbluzhnyy recording] Over a certain period, from the 1930's namely, a policy was pursued here in the Soviet Union which was largely directed at strengthening the position of one language—the language of communication between nationalities. Furthermore, the approach toward language problems was identical for all republics, although the language situation is undoubtedly different. On the one hand, in the Ukraine and Belorussia for example, and for instance in Uzbekistan or in Central Asia as a whole, or on the other hand the Baltic Republics. This had a very strong impact on the position of national languages in the republics, and all this also had a great impact on the fact that in our republic, for example, the Belorussian language came completely out of official use. The number of people studying in Belorussian schools decreased significantly. Now very substantial measures are being taken and we are looking for a solution. [end recording]

[Mkhlik] Jazeps Stanislavovich Brolish, professor of the Riga Polytechnical Institute, keeps up our conversation.

[Begin Brolish recording] We are discussing those problems which are really pressing in our great union, because it is essential to reach a new level of maturity in relations between the nationalities and maturity in internationalist awareness. These are not problems purely related with the nationalities; they are based on economic and social problems, and one problem that has really been neglected in some collectives is the low quality of communication between nationalities, and respect for the values of nationalities. Work is still ongoing. There are new proposals alongside the proposals that have been made by everyone in the past. I think that useful work is going on here. [end recording]

[Mkhlik] Summing up the work of the conference, Yelchenko, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, noted that topical matters relating to the nationalities policy of the CPSU Central Committee at the present stage, and ways of improving relations between the nationalities, were examined both in theoretical and in practical terms. The sense of the prevailing view point can be boiled down to this: A strong union means strong republics, and strong republics means a strong union. Understanding of this is being increasingly asserted in our public awareness.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Interviewed on Nationalities

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[Interview with Algirdas Kazevich Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee, by I. Morzharetto; date and place not specified]

[Text] The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, Algirdas Kazevich Brazauskas is 56 years old. By education he is a hydrotechnical engineer; he worked in his specialty for 10 years. Then he worked another 10 in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Gosplan [State Planning Committee]. There he acquired a second specialty—he became an economist and has defended his candidate's dissertation. The next turning point in his biography was his work in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania where as Central Committee secretary he was responsible for economic issues. Last summer almost every day he met with workers and spoke at meetings. His authority grew rapidly. In October, on the eve of the opening of the constituent congress of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring, 'Sajudis,' the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee elected A. Brazauskas its first secretary.

Algirdas Kazevich continues to consider himself primarily an economist and manager as before. "I am just learning politics," he says.

An ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent met with him and asked him to answer a couple of questions.

[Morzharetto] Algirdas Kazevich, describe for us briefly, please, the situation that has developed in the republic since the February Plenum of the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee. How was it influenced by the sharp statements directed toward the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring (Sajudis), certain members of which, in the opinion of the speakers and in your opinion as well, have taken up politically shaky positions? How did the population receive the closing of the Sajudis channel on republic television and the idea of halting the publication of its newspapers? In a word, did not all this lead to a situation which a number of foreign and even Soviet publications called "diarchy."

[Brazauskas] I do not agree with this definition. The republic is living a normal life, the people are working in spite of all the passions that are flaring in the country, the discussion.... The indicators earmarked for the 5-year plan are being fulfilled although, if one analyzes the results of our economic activity last year, it is becoming clear that we have become too involved in politics.

The response in the republic to the decisions of the 17th Plenum of the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee was quite varied. According to our information, the majority of party organizations, especially in rural regions and small cities, are evaluating them correctly. In the report of the bureau of the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee and the decisions of the Plenum, which were distinguished by their brevity and constructiveness, an attempt was made to determine the limit of permissibility of actions beyond which we communists will not and do not have the right to go. Of course during the course of the discussions some of the members of the Central Committee stated sharply that this evoked an ambiguous reaction. Certain representatives of Sayudis even regarded these statements as a change in the line of the Central Committee in the direction of "Stalinism and stagnation." But I do not agree with this. The opinion of the left or the right wing of the party is still not the viewpoint of the entire party, but only individual members of it, and therefore there is no reason to speak of returning to "the good old days of the heavy fist."

Another thing that has enlivened the political life of Lithuania very much is the preparation for the forthcoming elections. Only a couple of districts in our republic are registered for only two candidates for deputies; the majority of them have three or more. The pre-electoral campaign and the meetings with the labor collectives and the voters at their places of residence were very active. And the activity is being observed not only on the party of the candidates for deputies and their agents, but also on the part of the rank-and-file voters.

[Morzharetto] Algirdas Kazevich, let us recall the recent events in Nagornyy Karabakh. For a certain amount of time the central committees of the communist parties of Armenia and Azerbaijan lost control of the situation and ended up outside the events. Do you not think that the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee could end up in the same position or do you think you are in control of the political situation in the republic?

[Brazauskas] I do not like at all the expression "to control the situation".... We are now in times of restructuring and glasnost and I am supposed to assure you that we are absolutely in control of the situation? And is this necessary? Both Sayudis and other social movements have their own programs which do not entirely coincide with ours and they are very active, especially in connection with the elections. Practically every electoral district has nominated candidates both from Sayudis and from other organizations. And although about 90 percent of the candidates are communists, this is still not a reason to speak of complete control over the phenomena that are occurring. There is a certain pluralism of opinions and even the course of the CPSU Central Committee and the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party Central Committee evoke from our communists the most unexpected evaluations, especially when it comes to further ways of developing restructuring and the purposes of this movement.

[Morzharetto] And how in general are the relations between the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party and the social movements?

[Brazauskas] The relations are positive in places where they have a common goal. This is the main principle. But we have few tasks in common both with Sayudis and with other organizations: the sovereignty of the republic and economic independence, the preparation of the draft of the Constitution, questions of social security and improvement of the public education system, ecology, environmental protection, and monuments of culture.... And if the goals coincide, we see nothing wrong with having members of our party participate in social movements.

[Morzharetto] And are there many of these?

[Brazauskas] This is a very difficult question since the membership in Sayudis and other organizations is not registered. There are quite a few of them in the Movement—one can judge this if only from the fact that almost half of the Sayudis management agency, Soviet Sejm, are communists. We raised the question of the participation of party members in the Movement at the last plenum as well. For, on the one hand, all communists must observe the Program and Charter of the CPSU, and on the other, the range of goals and tasks set by the Program has expanded considerably and many points of the Charter do not correspond to the requirements of the present day. So it is not simply a matter of categorizing one communist or another as deviating from the Program or not fulfilling the requirements of the Charter. This is rather a question of the conscience of each individual and not letting it go to far.

[Morzharetto] But why then do certain Lithuanian communist prefer to fight for restructuring within the framework of the Movement and not in their own party organizations?

[Brazauskas] I think it is that certain of them feel that the restructuring process is taking place too slowly. So they have joined the public mass Movement in order to accelerate the restructuring. I have already said that many of the goals of Sayudis, the communist party, and the republic leadership coincide. For Sayudis expresses the interests of the people, including communists, and not any narrow grouping of people. I simply cannot imagine how to distinguish communists from nonparty members in Sayudis or to distinguish the participation of one from the other in our society. This would be difficult and, in my opinion, unthinkable.

[Morzharetto] You mentioned the concept "republic sovereignty." What do you as a politician and economist mean by this?

[Brazauskas] The sovereignty of the republic is the possibility of realizing its economic independence and changing over to republic khozraschet and self-financing. I think that this could be one of the measures contributing to activating the entire country's economy. For what is the country? It is not a set of undefined territories but a community of union republics. We are all convinced that the branch principle of economic management long ago became an outdated form of production relations. And this conviction is not based on abstract guesses but on concrete calculations.

Each day we meet with people and they demand: Give us results from restructuring! They ask us: where are the promised foodstuffs and consumer goods? Within the framework of the old management system we cannot fail to show initiative, take full advantage of our economic potential, or update technology. We are not taking advantage of the possibilities of the development of foreign economic ties directed toward international specialization and division of labor. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to develop foreign economic ties within the framework of the existing management system, although many decrees regarding this are in existence. So far we are exporting only 2-3 percent of our products, and this is very, very little. We must increase this figure severalfold and this will immediately accelerate the updating of technology and will make it possible to provide for the output of products with high technical and aesthetic qualities.

[Morzharetto] Will this not lead to a strengthening of the economic independence of Lithuania and a weakening of ties with the other republics of the Union and—what many people are fearing—secession from the USSR?

[Brazauskas] I have a negative attitude toward the idea of Lithuania as a state. I think this is unrealistic for many reasons—both political and economic. The degree of integration of the republic's economy into the economy of the entire country is very great. We are also linked by close bonds in political life. But we have many people who are living with illusions. They think that if Lithuania becomes an independent state, the results of separation from the USSR will be felt immediately. And as a historical example they refer to the events of 1918 when the republic acquired the status of a state and nothing terrible happened.

But one must take into account that at that time Lithuania had a predominantly in-kind economy which did not require today's degree of integration, and it did not have today's economic potential. And now? Our industry is oriented mainly toward the output of the final product, which requires a large number of cooperative ties among enterprises, associations, and ministries. The situation is radically different from the one that existed in 1918.

We obtain all the raw material necessary for normal functioning of production through established ties: for example, petroleum and gas—from Tyumen. We refine this oil ourselves, as a result of which we fully supply ourselves and our neighbors with petroleum products. The gas is used to operate our TETS's [heat and electric power stations] which provide electric energy and heat for the republic.... Can this really be discounted? But there are people who simply cannot imagine how great the degree of integration is. One-third of the social product participates in continuous exchange—and as an economist I can say that this is a very high percentage of integration.

[Morzharetto] Certain creative unions of Lithuania have already taken a stand on departing from the unionwide structure. Now they are independent. Many are also demanding greater flexibility and mobility from the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party.

[Brazauskas] Naturally, each republic has its own specific features that are inherent only in it. We have followed and shall continue to follow a general party line in Lithuania, but, of course, there are also local problems. Many of our communists have already come out with suggestions—to develop for the Lithuanian SSR Communist Party its own program based on the existing situation. Well, the question of the level of independence of the republic Communist Party is a question that is on the agenda. We have submitted our suggestions regarding this issue to the CPSU Central Committee and I think that they will be discussed at the Central Committee Plenum.

[Morzharetto] And how do representatives of nonindigenous nationalities feel in the republic? Judging from our mail, they are not always comfortable.

[Brazauskas] This is a difficult question, although many people think that since four-fifths of the population of Lithuania are Lithuanians, there are no problems. We also used to think this and that we were living according to Leninist principles of national policy. We smoothed over many problems and did not see the processes that were taking place under the surface. But now, for example, when on the agenda along with problems of the development of restructuring in all national republics there has appeared the question of the status of the national language and the establishment of it as the state language, quite different problems have appeared, and they affect the interests not only of individual people but also those of entire nationalities. We have our own specific problems here too.

In the first place, to the 80 percent who are Lithuanians one must add the 7-8 percent who are Poles who have been living in Lithuania from time immemorial. The rest are Russians, Belorussians, and Jews—people who have been living in Lithuania for a long time or who have come here recently to work or for other reasons. As they say, each of these groups of people has its own interests, and they form social organizations with their own programs. The movement for restructuring, Sayudis, basically unites individuals of the Lithuanian nationality, although there are quite a few of them, including in the leadership, who are not Lithuanians. The Jews of Lithuania have created their own organization—the "Society of Culture." The movement for restructuring called "Unity" is in the organizational stage. It includes Russians, Belorussians, Poles....

The proposition concerning the Lithuanian language as the official state language evoked a wave of dissatisfaction among certain segments of the population who do not know this language. Widespread discussions have taken place regarding this issue and they are continuing. So far the question is posed this way: if a person is working as a manager he must know two languages—Lithuanian and Russian. This, of course, raises certain difficulties for the managers who over a long period of time have failed to learn to speak Lithuanian, but there are quite a few of them.

Of course, nobody requires this of the rank-and-file workers, and I do not know of any cases where they have been forced out because they did not know the language, although I keep on asking the voters about this. It is another matter if the person himself expresses a desire to study the language of the land in which he lives.... We welcome such a desire.

We are now creating a special governmental commission to consider the interests of individual groups of the population, including, naturally, representatives of nationalities living in Lithuania. We shall begin with the Poles, but we shall not forget about the Russians, Belorussians, Jews, or Karaites. We must respect the interests of all nationalities without belittling any of them.

[Morzharetto] How has the political struggle in the republic been reflected in the life of the simple person, the worker and the peasant?

[Brazauskas] Unfortunately, it has had little effect on their life because the working man works and with his work he earns a living for his family.... It is not easy for him to enlist in the political struggle: life is so difficult, the pay leaves a great deal to be desired, and wages are increasing slowly.

[Morzharetto] Algirdas Kazevich, my last question. Are you satisfied with the way events taking place in Lithuania and the republic's problems are being covered in the central press?

[Brazauskas] Various articles are published. We are satisfied with some of them, while others, from our standpoint, suffer from one-sidedness. There is no doubt that it is difficult for a person, even a high-class journalist, to become completely familiar with the situation after spending a short period of time in the republic. It is one thing when a journalist accredited in the republic is writing about it all the time and quite another when a person comes here for a day or two. The latter frequently get a superficial impression of the state of affairs in the republic. In their articles they make things seem too tragic when they describe the situation as critical. They say we have lost control over the situation and an actual diarchy has developed.... In a word, we discussed this at the very beginning.

I see things quite differently. We have problems, many problems, but we are working on solving them. It is possible to consolidate all forces in favor of restructuring in the republic. This is not just my opinion; it is the opinion of the majority of the people.

Latvian Party Secretary on Nationalities Issue

PM1204133389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Apr 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by I. Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee under the rubric "Toward the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on Nationalities Questions": "Continuing and Deepening What We Have Started"]

[Text] Public thinking is relatively slow to break free of its captivity by popular formulations and slogans. The popularity of these formulations is justified, but they often act as empty vessels which everyone can fill with what content he chooses. Theses like "Strong center and strong republics," "Latvia—our common home," and others are often interpreted in different ways. This is why it is necessary to openly exchange opinions about the essence of phenomena. Primarily because preparation for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on nationalities questions is proceeding at full speed. Many ossified stereotypes are being reevaluated, and a qualitatively new concept of nationalities policy is taking shape.

The system of ethnic relations has proved to be a highly sensitive barometer which indicates symptoms of crisis within society—deformations in the economy and the social sphere, an adverse ecological situation, and the devaluation of spiritual and moral values. Nonetheless, no matter how complex ethnic and interethnic problems might be, their solution must be sought only along the tracks of restructuring, and this is an organic component of the revolutionary process of society's renewal.

Special attention is given today throughout our multinational state to national interests which are showing through with growing clarity. This makes it possible to talk about a unique phenomenon of national rebirth.

The concept of harmonizing these interests is still only just being created. Great hopes are pinned on the CPSU Central Committee plenum scheduled for the middle of this year, which could become a fundamental step in the elaboration and implementation of a dynamic nationalities policy.

When defining the fundamental principles of its concept, it is mandatory to take into account the actually existing specificity of our country's different regions, the different ethnodemographic situation, and the traditions which emerged in the course of historical development. There is, therefore, a need for a sufficiently flexible approach and rejection of all attempts to create behind closed office doors some standardized and apparently universal model providing detailed regulations, which could be applied in any republic, oblast, or kray.

Restructuring in itself already comprises a totality of nonstandard situations and solutions. A creative approach toward the solution of nationalities problems is necessary in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (any illusions that it supposedly has neither ethnic nor interethnic problems have already been dispelled, and this is being said both by the creative intelligentsia and by our party and state leaders) equally as much as in Turkmenia, Yakutia, and Latvia.

Any standardization or leveling could only aggravate the situation. In order to prevent this happening, republican party organizations, scientific research centers, creative intelligentsia, and labor collectives have actively joined in preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum. The local situation is being appraised, proposals are being formulated. Proposals accepted by delegates to the Forum of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Peoples, which were sent on to Moscow and were published in the press, were among the first documents of a program nature.

More extensive materials were prepared on this basis, and with due consideration for recommendations by many of the republic's scientists and for proposals expressed in the press, in party organizations, and in working people's letters, and they were examined in detail and adopted by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Commission.

The commission members concluded that there is a steadily growing public awareness of the need to consolidate the creative potential of society and all its healthy forces, to improve interethnic relations, and to eliminate tension in these relations, and that all this is inseparably linked with the radical changes in the economic and social spheres and in cultural and sociopolitical life, with the creation of a rule-of-law state. This is the basis on which the optimal model of interethnic relations ought to be built.

What ideas and specific proposals are included in this package?

First and foremost, numerous theoretical and practical questions of a national economic nature. The basic problems is: How to ensure the real economic autonomy of republics?

Many of our opinions are now incorporated in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On Draft General Principles for the Restructuring of Economic Management and the Social Sphere in Union Republics on the Basis of Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing," which was accepted by the CPSU Central Committee and was submitted for nationwide discussion on 15 March this year. Specific answers offered to questions concerning the principles of shaping and utilizing Union, republic, and local budgets and the mutual relations between territorial management organs and Union ministries and departments and enterprises under Union jurisdiction.

It is well known that the republic's government and specialists from its State Planning Committee and scientific research institutes played an active part in the elaboration and discussion of various working options of the proposed draft.

Work along this avenue must continue with unflagging activeness. The draft clearly stipulates that it is necessary to legislatively consolidate a republic's right to promulgate its own normative acts, supplementing and amplifying articles of any relevant laws with due consideration for its specific economic features and the characteristics of its historical, national, and demographic development.

Society relies on honest experts and high-class professionals. Creative debate and proper scientific polemics guarantee to a certain extent that the optimal decision will be made and that correct tactics for its implementation will be elaborated.

This is why we are interested in the opinion of the republic's scientific research institutes and leading specialists on the published draft. It is their professional duty to help improve these long-term documents and to offer prompt and perspicacious guidance of public thinking. Experience proves that a reform can be successful only when all executants have understood its essence.

The discussion of nationalities policy problems at the CPSU Central Committee plenum has been timed to coincide with the second stage of the political system's reform. In our view, special importance attaches to the question of restoring Lenin's model of socialist federation.

There is a universally known thesis: It is necessary to find that link of the chain which will make it possible to draw out the entire chain. As applied to the question under examination, our legal experts think that a new Treaty on the USSR could play the part of such a fundamental law. The conclusion of such a treaty would lay firm constitutional foundations for precise delineation of the powers of union republics and of their federated union. There ought to be a clear definition of the package of rights which the republics voluntarily hand over to be exercised by a supreme organ in the shape of the USSR. A republic does not beg for its rights but voluntarily delegates part of its sovereign rights to the Union. There also ought to be a formulation of the range of questions which cannot be resolved by Union organs without the consent of union republics. Provision must be made for the procedure of elaborating, coordinating, and adopting such resolutions.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee fully supports the idea expressed at the Forum of Latvian SSR Peoples that there is need for certain legal guarantees of citizens' opportunities to satisfy their national-cultural needs in the spheres of education, language, contacts, and mass media. This also applies to Soviet citizens living outside their own national state formations and also to those who have no such formations. It would be appropriate to elaborate a USSR Law on National-Cultural Associations and Societies and to lay down the fundamental principles of financial and material backing for their activity.

The Final Document of the CSCE Vienna meeting demands honest performance of specific obligations toward persons belonging to ethnic minorities or regional cultures. In this context, and also bearing in mind the major potential of national culture societies for boosting the cultural standards of interethnic contacts in our republic, it is hard to understand the bureaucratic attitude adopted by some executive organ officials toward the solution of specific questions.

The Vienna documents are not an export commodity but a compass for the process in the course of which we have to do much more than many Western states.

We have also formulated our proposals on the language question. Now that so many resolutions have been adopted on this problem in the Baltic republics, with hundreds of articles written and thousands of letters dispatched, one might get the impression that this is our own specific regional problem. But facts prove the contrary. These questions appear increasingly high on the agenda in the Ukraine, in Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Central Asia, and the Russian Federation's autonomous republics and oblasts. V. Mikhaylov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department Interethnic Relations Sector, wrote in the journal POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE (1988, issue No 6) that the demand to grant the status of state language to republics' languages is becoming nationwide. And he goes on: Life thus dictates the need for constructive quest which would ultimately lead to the point where knowledge of two and even three national languages would become the norm for both the indigenous nation and the Russian-speaking population.

There must be guarantees for the free development and equal use of the USSR peoples' languages. By constitutionally enshrining the language of a republic's indigenous population as a state language, the state undertakes a certain concern for the development of this language and guarantees the rights and opportunities for its use by organs of state power and management, in official correspondence, and in enterprises, organizations, and institutions located in the republic's territory. The state guarantees the use of the state language in education, science, and cultural life, and takes on the concern for the teaching of this language. At the same time, there must be safeguards for the constitutional rights of citizens of other nationalities to speak and be educated in their native language. Whenever necessary, a republic's supreme organs of power could elaborate a law which would democratically regulate the sphere of the use of languages.

Since it is envisaged to elaborate an entire package of draft laws in the sphere of interethnic relations, we believe that competent specialists representing all union republics ought to be included on the working groups and commissions for the preparation of this draft.

We have already accumulated a certain amount of experience in such constructive cooperation. Now that jurists and public figures advocating a return to Lenin's principles—like Viktor Skudra, Andris Plotniyeks, Yuris Boyars, and Ilmars Bishers—have been elected USSR people's deputies, this work could be continued at a qualitatively new level.

The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Commission backed demands by the republic's scientists and public education workers for greater autonomy. For example, the elaboration of study programs, syllabuses, and textbooks ought to be the province of union republics.

We are highly interested in serious scientific studies of ethnic processes, interethnic relations, and ethnopsychology. Any social policy which is not based of correct theoretical conclusions is doomed to dilettantism or time-serving.

Comparative all-Union and regional ethnosociological studies ought to be launched more energetically. Their results must be made available to the broad public. It is also necessary to publish data on the USSR population and on all of the USSR's administrative-territorial units, the ethnic composition of various social and professional groups, and on ethnodemographic processes. Data on the 1989 All-Union Population Census must be available everywhere.

Our proposals also include a union-wide debate on the basic categories of the theory of nations and nationalities relations, preparation of appropriate terminological dictionaries, and the need for wider dissemination of data on ethnic processes and ethnopsychology.

Bearing in mind the great importance of history's lessons for shaping individuals' historical awareness, healthy national awareness, and internationalist education, I think that the CPSU Central Committee plenum must sum up the Soviet state's positive experience in the development of ethnic relations and must offer an honest and principled assessment of deformations in nationalities policy and their causes. It is necessary to offer a party appraisal of the manifestations of Stalinism in the USSR's foreign policy activity in 1939-1940, which had a substantial effect on the circumstances surrounding the entry of Baltic republics in the USSR. The mass deportations in the forties ought to be deemed unconstitutional and inhuman acts. In order to restore historical truth, it is necessary to create conditions giving social science specialists free access to all archive material relating to that period.

Recognizing the USSR's prerogative in determining foreign policy course, we expressed our specific opinions on the significant expansion of the republic's participation in its implementation. We perceive many unitilized opportunities to develop international ties with neighboring states. And primarily with North European countries in the spheres of the economy, culture, ecology, human relations, sports, mass media, and the struggle for peace. We advocate active involvement in the work of nongovernmental international organizations and the implementation of the principles of people's diplomacy.

The new political thinking must become the basis of our relations with compatriots abroad. But this could be the topic of a separate article.

Having summed up our proposals and sent them on to the CPSU Central Committee, we are simultaneously aware that many problems in the republic demand immediate solution and this lies within our own powers.

The adoption of sundry resolutions, the discussion of draft laws, the debates on most complex historical issues—all this has certainly enriched us. Democratic society presupposes pluralism of opinions, the art of contact and mutual understanding with neighbors, and recognition of their right to be original and different. This also applies to the coordination of ethnic groups' interests. Special tact, patience, and tolerance are needed here. Any ultimatums, blackmail, or accusations are absolutely impermissible here. Even an apparently democratic option like voting and submission of the minority to the majority is not always acceptable here. Therefore, the ancient principle of consensus emerges that much more as an optimal solution, with resolutions being adopted on the basis of voluntary compromise, taking the sides' interests into account, and showing respect for sovereignty and equality. This was the dominant approach when the resolution of the Forum of Latvian SSR Peoples was being prepared. It made possible the crystallization of the platform of consolidating positive social forces for the purpose of expanding and deepening the processes of restructuring and offered an opportunity for the emergence of an outline model of interethnic relations suitable to the republic's conditions.

This is the avenue along which we must continue the work we have started.

Economic

Measures To Combat Budget Deficit Discussed

PM1304091989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Apr 89 Second Edition p 1

[V. Badov report under the rubric "Topic of the Day": " 'Give Us a Billion!' "]

[Text] The Finance Ministry has cut expenditure on the maintenance of its apparatus by R500,000. This is a symbolic step. The treasury is making it clear to all of us that, with the current R100 billion difference between the revenue and expenditure sections of the state budget, economizing is a stern necessity. But what about the departments—have they heeded this, taken it in? The Finance Ministry still receives the usual applications from ministries "on scraps of paper": "We request the allocation of R3 billion." This is in addition to the sum already allocated....

These facts were cited at a recent press conference given by B. Gostev, USSR finance minister. If only it were just these immoderate requests for "assistance" that vexed the minister. In the first 2 months of the year, there was an unwarranted sharp leap in wages in the country. The tough government decision that henceforth wages must not outstrip growth in labor productivity has been in force since March. Will this measure stop inflation? Time will tell....

This was the first such press conference in the Finance Ministry. In the past, this department has preferred to remain in the shadows. On this occasion the minister was frank and did not conceal all the seriousness of the country's financial situation. He urged the press to constructive cooperation. He even reproached my colleagues for the fact that they often do not even "glance at" Finance Ministry publications and reports. He said that statistics, with their once secret graphs, are now open to the public. For the first time, it has been publicly announced that the annual budget has a large deficit.

Have we all realized—we who handle credits or who simply manage family budgets—what this really means? I believe we are still far short of realization. Because, if ministers are still knocking on the doors of the Finance Ministry with requests of "give us R1 billion," knowing that the state itself has borrowed credit resources of more than R60 billion from the State Bank at an annual interest rate of 3 percent, what can one say?! Our hazy understanding of the rudiments of finance verges on the simplicity of Chekov's criminal who unscrewed the nuts from rails for his fishing weights. Without deluding ourselves, we should feel the weight of the R100 billion deficit on our shoulders. How can we make up the difference without cutting our standard of living? Everyone should be racking their brains over this. Otherwise, self-management and self-financing will remain mere words.

We must be aware of the harsh realities and shake off our illusions. That is the practical conclusion that should be drawn from the information given to the press and, consequently, to all taxpayers, by the finance minister. One wrongful accusation that seems to be popular is that the inflation has been caused by the economy's transition to economic accountability. In reality, however, even in the seventies, the state's revenue fell chronically short of its expenditure as a result of the drop in the pace of economic development. The deficit was hidden behind a veil of secrecy.

We have lived, borrowing from the future, and now the time has come to pay off our old debts. The economy is now improving, but readers complain that this is not in evidence if you judge by what is available in the stores. The problem is that the commodity supply is growing far slower than the monetary supply. There is no point in blaming restructuring. The minister divided the figure up as follows: We have lost R40 billion in revenue because of the fall in world oil prices. True, another R34 billion is the result of the reduced revenue from alcohol. An extra R18 billion has been "procured" for urgent social programs. Then, of course, there was Chernobyl, Armenia, Afghanistan.... This is where the deficit has come from. And this must be known for sure if we want to be the citizens of a rule-of-law state.

How much time and effort will be required to improve our finances? According to the minister—the whole of the next 5-year period. What is being done to this end? In the short term, in order to ease the strain on the consumer market, we need a R30 billion increase in goods and services in excess of the plan. In the long term, we need the further social reorientation of the economy. Group "B" must grow twice as fast as Group "A" in the next 5-year period. There must be tax reform. The development of commercial loans. The issue of securities in which enterprises could invest their free resources for a substantial rate of interest....

We must live according to our means! This advice from the finance minister is going to apply to us for more than a year to come.

Trade Union Membership Regulations Outlined

18280105 Moscow TRUD in Russian
4 Apr 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Status of the Member of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Confirmed by 4th Plenum of All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, 1989"]

[Text] 1. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] member is chosen by the USSR Congress of Trade Unions. He represents the interests of the workers in the AUCCTU and participates in the collective leadership of the trade unions' activities in the period between congresses.

2. The AUCCTU member's authority begins on the day he is elected, and ends on the day of election of a new AUCCTU staff.

In accordance with the USSR Charter of Trade Unions, the empowerment of an AUCCTU member not worthy of trust may be terminated before the term expires by resolution of the AUCCTU plenum: at the request of the primary trade union organization in which he is registered, or on the initiative of the appropriate branch committee, trade union council, or the presidium of the AUCCTU. The AUCCTU member may also be removed from the AUCCTU staff at his own request in the event of circumstances which prevent him from fulfilling the responsibilities with which he is entrusted.

3. The AUCCTU member is governed in his activities by USSR legislation, the USSR Trade Union Charter, this status, resolutions of the USSR Congress of Trade Unions and the AUCCTU. The AUCCTU member is accountable to the the USSR Congress of Trade Unions and to the AUCCTU plenum.

4. In the name of the AUCCTU, the AUCCTU member represents and defends the rights and interests of workers in state, economic, cooperative, and other public organs.

5. The AUCCTU member has the right to direct inquiries connected with the fulfillment of social obligations to all state and public organs, enterprises, institutions and organizations, which are obliged to examine such inquiries and answer them within time periods established by legislation.

6. The AUCCTU member has the right to participate in debates at AUCCTU plenums, in the preparation and discussion of the issues under their consideration, to introduce drafts of proposals of plenums, other propositions, to express his opinion on the agenda and the order of conduct of the plenums.

7. The proposals and comments expressed by the AUCCTU member at plenums are to be considered by the AUCCTU plenum, the presidium or the secretariat, which must determine measures for their realization, and inform the AUCCTU member of the results.

8. The AUCCTU member may attend the sessions of the AUCCTU presidium and secretariat during the discussion of any issue of trade union activities and express his opinion about them, and may also introduce proposals into the work plan of the AUCCTU presidium and secretariat.

9. The AUCCTU member has the right to introduce into the AUCCTU and the republic councils of trade unions drafts of normative acts for presenting them for consideration by the legislative organs of the USSR and the union republics.

10. The AUCCTU member effectuates control for the trade union organizations' fulfillment of the resolutions of the USSR congresses of trade unions and the decisions of the AUCCTU, actively assisting their realization. He has the right to familiarize himself with the activities of any trade union organs, with the state of affairs in concrete trends in trade union work; to express to soviets and trade union committees recommendations for elimination of revealed shortcomings, and if necessary, to introduce proposals to the aforementioned trade union organs.

11. The AUCCTU member has the right to: visit without hindrance enterprises (associations), institutions, organizations, or kolkhozes to acquaint himself with the activities of trade union organizations in the issues which interest him;

To undertake the necessary actions directed toward the defense of workers' legal rights and interests, as well as the resolution of issues connected with the realization of the tasks of the charter by trade unions;

To require of the administration and technical inspection of the appropriate soviet and committee of the trade unions the immediate work stoppage for various shops and equipment whose further exploitation threatens people's life and health, to take measures for the resolution of other problems connected with the improvement of work conditions, or the observance of programs of work, labor, and housing legislation;

To put before the economic management of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, as well as the aforementioned organs, the issue of punishing responsible individuals guilty of violating the labor and housing legislation, rules for labor conservation, including the abrogation of labor agreements with them or their removal from their responsibilities;

To introduce into the appropriate professional organ propositions for halting the enactment of decisions of state and economic organs if they have been taken in violation of the legislation on the rights of the trade unions, infringe upon the rights of the labor collectives, or labor and residential rights of workers, kolkhoz workers, or clerical employees;

To implement control, with the assistance of labor controllers and control specialists, over the work of enterprises and organizations for trade, food supply, and the service sector.

12. The AUCCTU member maintains close ties with the members of trade unions, trade union organizations, and labor collectives, takes part in meetings (conferences), studies public opinion, receives workers, publicizes critical comments and suggestions, considers and resolves issues presented to him, and informs the AUCCTU of such actions.

13. The AUCCTU member systematically informs the workers of the resolutions of the AUCCTU plenums and presidium at meetings of the labor collectives, the trade union and farm aktivs, and to these purposes utilizes the local press, radio, and television.

The AUCCTU member accounts for the fulfillment of his public obligations at trade union meetings (conferences) at the workplace and in other labor collectives.

14. The AUCCTU member implements his authority in cooperation with the AUCCTU commissions and apparatus, the central organs of the branch trade unions, the local trade union organizations, and may participate in the work of plenums, the presidium, the soviets, and committees of the trade unions.

15. The AUCCTU member has the right to address requests to the AUCCTU presidium, secretariat, leadership and departments, and to organizations, soviets, and committees of trade unions subordinate to the AUCCTU on any issue of trade union activity.

The organ or responsible individual to whom the request is addressed must render an oral or written response within the time period established by legislation.

16. The AUCCTU member may not be dismissed by administrative initiative, transferred to other work, or subjected to disciplinary penalty without the preliminary consent of the AUCCTU presidium.

The AUCCTU member retains his average workplace salary and is reimbursed for business travel expenses from the AUCCTU funds for periods during which he fulfills his public obligations.

17. The AUCCTU presidium, secretariat, and commissions work with the AUCCTU member in considering the proposals of AUCCTU members; organize their training, consultations; give orders; provide necessary materials for AUCCTU plenums and commissions sessions; and direct the AUCCTU resolutions and other documents.

Departments, administrations, and organizations, soviet and committees of trade unions subordinate to the AUCCTU are obligated to render support and assistance to AUCCTU members in the implementation of their authority, and to provide necessary appropriate information and documents.

18. The AUCCTU member is given an identification card valid during the length of his term of authority.

19. This AUCCTU member status applies to AUCCTU candidate members.

Agricultural

Editorial Outlines Grain Growing Tasks

PM1304074589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Apr 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Grain Is Preeminent"]

[Text] Grain is known as the father of all riches. I do not think this graphic simile is much of an exaggeration. If there is grain, there will be white bread, kasha, meat, milk, and butter on the table. There will also be our country's long-awaited independence from the situation on the world grain market. The party's new agrarian policy approved by the CPSU Central Committee March plenum provides for strong incentives and levers. They are designed to greatly improve matters in grain production, too.

The country's grainfields occupy more than 115 million hectares. They are now at the center of attention for farmers and all working people in the agro-industrial complex. For these fields determine, above all, how matters will fare in the food sphere.

Although field work has begun earlier than usual this year, spring has not caught grain growers unawares. The relay baton is confidently being taken over from the southerners by their more northernly neighbors. They are top-dressing winter crops and taking timely moisture-retention measures and have begun sowing spring crops. And the remarkable thing is that instructions and orders from above are less and less frequently to be heard in this always difficult yet customary situation.

Under these conditions responsibility for one's entrusted task is increasing. But such responsibility is still lacking on a number of farms, as borne out, in particular, by the thousands of unrepaired tractors in the country's eastern regions and the shortage of seeds on certain farms in the Non-Chernozem Zone. Sowing units are far from being complete everywhere. Such omissions have become chronic in many regions.

Our newspaper has written about them repeatedly. Where is the root of the evil? The chronic disease known as freeloading or reliance on assistance from patrons tells here. There are also acute problems which a collective farm, state farm, or team is simply incapable of resolving. But the poor qualifications of tractor drivers and seed drill operators and the bad use of machinery and fertilizers show negligence on the part of farm leaders and specialists.

Let us take, for example, the poor readiness of equipment. These days telegrams from the provinces are descending like snowflakes upon industrial enterprises, ministries, and departments: No spare parts for tractors and seed drills, no rubber for trucks, no fuel. There is still a shortage of many things to secure a high harvest. Owing to the fuel shortage, for example, a large number of units stand idle during both sowing and harvesting. And so it goes on year after year. You might have thought that the competent organs should have studied this sad natural law and put an end to it. Alas, in some places the containers for diesel oil and gasoline are half-empty again.

It is, of course, necessary to observe the policy of economy and thrift and make better use of equipment. But to sell fuel abroad so as to buy grain with the proceeds? The very grain that we are losing here because of the shortage of...fuel. Readers frequently ask whether there is any economic logic or common sense in this. I would like to address this question to the USSR State Planning Committee and State Committee for Material and Technical Supply.

Agricultural machine building, the chemical industry, other sectors, and agrarian science are focusing their full attention on the countryside. More sophisticated machinery, plant strains, and plant protection agents are being created for the grainfield. Intensive techniques will be used to cultivate crops on millions of hectares. Their skillful use makes it possible to increase yields. The partners have to double and triple their efforts, ensuring price parity in relations. Without this the countryside can hardly make its way out onto the high road and make products inexpensive.

at, strong, durum, and soft wheat—makes up the bulk of the grain. Much has been done to increase yields and improve quality. I could name many farms—in the Kuban, the Ukraine, and Belorussia, for example—where more than 40-50 quintals of grain per hectare is threshed. And here today the land is well prepared, good seeds have been laid in store, and proper, timely care of winter crops has been ensured. On the whole, the wheat yield is still only increasing poorly. According to USSR State Committee for Statistics data, it stood at 17.6 quintals last year. There is something for scientists and specialists to think about here. But, above all, for the grain growers themselves. For you get low-weight ears where little concern is shown for the land and where agricultural techniques are violated.

We need not only more grain but also a diverse range of grain. This must not be forgotten when determining the crop structure. Flaws in it show up on the store counters. For how many years has the population been complaining of a buckwheat shortage? How many press articles and resolutions by directive organs have there been in this regard, but the shortage has remained the same, although buckwheat grows from Brest to Vladivostok?

Not all is well regarding production of rye, millet, and legumes. The so-called corn belt, without which it will be hard to increase livestock productivity substantially, is also expanding only slowly.

The grain grower's spring concerns are also the concerns of local soviet, trade union, and economic organs. It is necessary to improve together grain production and try to ensure that it takes every region's special features and the state's needs more fully into account.

The return from the grainfield is linked directly and indirectly with the new methods of management and administration. Thousands of lease, contract, and family collectives are working here today. Economic freedom has unleashed initiative and ensured greater maneuvering of resources and means. Under equal conditions such collectives in Omsk, Novosibirsk, and other oblasts, for example, have managed to increase yields and reduce production prime costs.

As the CPSU Central Committee March plenum pointed out, the lease, the contract, and other progressive forms of management are cardinally changing the state of affairs in the agrarian sector. However, innovations are not finding it easy to make their way into the field. Indeed, to judge from information from local economic organs, "coverage" with the lease and the contract has been ensured almost everywhere in grain production. Then why is the return per hectare low in a number of oblasts and republics? The assimilation of real, not "paper" economic accountability and contracts and daily assistance for specialists and machine operators in this—today this is both the chief concern and the chief purport of the organizational and educational activity of party committees and rural Communists.

Spring is a time of hard work, a time of hope for the grain grower. Much has to be done to realize this hope.

Agricultural Developments for 3-12 Apr Reported
LD1304064989

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 3-12 April, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

3 April

No fileworthy items monitored.

4 April

Sowing of spring crops has ended on the Stavropol steppes. There have been snowfalls, and the amount of water in the soil has increased significantly, which is good for strong shoots. At the beginning of sowing there was concern about the dryness of the soil. The state order is for 1.9 million tonnes of grain. (1100)

5 April

Spring crops are to be sown on an area of more than 2 million hectares in south Kazakhstan. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0700)

6 April

Uzbekistan—to date, cotton seeds have been planted on the first 50,000 hectares. (0204)

7 April

No fileworthy items monitored.

8 April

Krasnodar Kray—to date, 500,000 hectares (or almost 25 percent of the planned total) have been sown to spring crops. (0400)

The crop farmers of Krasnodar Kray today sowed the 500 millionth hectare to spring crops. (0700)

9 April

No fileworthey items monitored.

10 April

In the Altay spring is unusually warm. Field work has now started in the areas of the Kalunda and Rubtsovsk steppe of the Altay Kray. Sowing is to start in a month, snow retention is to be carried out on an area of 7 million hectares.

At the Elita scientific production association, one of the largest seed selection centers in the Ukraine, B.P. Guryev, general director and an Academy of Agricultural Sciences academician, talks about the new spring hard wheat varieties—Kharkovskaya-13, Kharkovskaya-15, and Kharkovskaya-37. They are highly resistant to disease and flattening. The Kharkovskaya-37, the latest new variety, also produces a higher yield of 5-7 quintals per hectare on average. The new varieties will be used this year in areas of Kazakhstan primarily; one variety will be used in Stavropol and in many other regions. More than 2,000 tonnes of high reproduction seeds have been produced and supplied for sowing this year. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130)

11 April

No fileworthy items monitored.

12 April

Agricultural workers in northern and southern Tajikistan have begun sowing cotton. This year 18,000 fewer hectares of plowed land will be given over to cotton than last year. Fruit, vegetables, and forage crops will be cultivated on the freed areas. (1330)

Scientific

'Mir' To Be Left Unmanned Due to Module Delay

LD1204194989 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow April 12 TASS—When three Soviet cosmonauts return back to earth from their orbiting station Mir in about a fortnight, the facility will be left unmanned for several months due to delays with the preparation of two research modules for it, a Soviet space official said today. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1556 GMT on 12 April in a similar report identifies the problem and the two modules more specifically by saying that there has been a "delay in the manufacture and delivery to orbit of modules: a re-equipping module and a technological module."]

Deputy Flight Director Viktor Blagov told TASS that Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov are to land on April 27 and that there will be no immediate change-over of crews on Mir.

This is because without the two modules, which will make it possible to conduct wide-ranging research, including studies in the interest of the Soviet economy, there is little sense in keeping cosmonauts on the space station any further, he explained.

The break, however, will have its advantages, helping prepare for the coming research work more thoroughly, Blagov added.

"New economic support on board Mir and on the ground, new documentation and new training are needed. It is fairly difficult to do this in the course of a manned flight. So the adjournment will simplify many things," he said.

Commenting on recent calls by some representatives of the public to make deep cuts in spending on space exploration, he said the effect would be the about the same as earlier clampdowns on cybernetics and genetics.

Soviet space technology is up to the highest world standards but industrial spin-offs are pitifully scanty as very few of the space industry's achievements are turned over for commercial use, Blagov said.

He called for speedier transfers of ideas and developments from the space sector to other industries.

And serious steps are already being taken to rectify the situation, the space official added.

"We plan to promote space commercial services and have already begun to do this: Of the 19 agreements signed by (the Soviet space agency) Glavkosmos with other countries and foreign firms, ten have been carried out," Blagov said.

He said that more and more such projects will be pursued.

Mir, launched more than three years ago, has since hosted three resident and four guest crews, including cosmonauts from Syria, Bulgaria, Afghanistan and France as well as Soviet spacemen Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov who have spent a record one year in orbit.

Their colleagues Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Balandin are in training for their turn on the space station.

Success With Nuclear Fusion Reactions Noted

Room Temperature Reaction

LD1204121689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1144 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Apr (TASS)—TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov reports:

A nuclear fusion reaction at room temperature has been achieved in the laboratory of solid physics of the Moscow University Physics Department under the leadership of Professor Runar Kuzmin. He carried out the experiments on "heavy" water in the molecules of which hydrogen atoms are replaced by its isotope deuterium. Passing an electric current of up to 300,000 amps through the water, the scientists observed a heating of the water right up to boiling, and also the discharge of fast neutrons. "We registered a discharge of neutrons 3-5 times greater than the "background" discharge. It is precisely the discharge of neutrons which makes it possible to assert with confidence that a nuclear fusion reaction is taking place," the scientist stressed in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

Low Temperature Reaction

LD1304113189 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 13 Apr 89

[Text] A group of scientists in Kharkov, the Ukraine, in this country have conducted a nuclear fusion reaction under low temperatures of minus 130 to 150 degrees centigrade. A significant energy discharge was recorded. A similar reaction was carried out under room temperature at Moscow University. The experiments by Soviet scientists confirm the sensational results achieved by American and British experts. Up until now, the colossal nucleus temperature of the sun has been considered necessary for nuclear fusion. Nuclear fusion provides a virtually inexhaustible source of energy.

Benefits of Space Program Technology Viewed

PM1204125989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel M. Rebrov in response to readers' letter: "What Is To Happen to 'Buran'?"—first paragraph is readers' letter]

[Text] First the press, including the central press, lashed out at the U.S. "shuttle," and now unkind words can also be heard about "Buran".... Are we financing outer space too lavishly, perhaps we should slow down until we patch up the holes? And what is to happen to "Buran?"

G. Karevskaya, V. Pushkov, and others (a total of eight signatures)

One curious story to begin with. Michael Faraday, the well-known physicist and scientific worker, once read a lecture at London's Royal Institute and demonstrated an experiment. The scholar put a coil of wire near a magnet and showed that a scarcely noticeable electric current was generated in the coil.

"Professor, if such a weak current can occur, what significance can this have?"

"Madam," Faraday gallantly answered her, "Can you foretell a newborn baby's fate?"

"How much did you get for this discovery?" the lady was not embarrassed to ask.

"Nothing yet," the scientist smiled....

Incidentally, this is by the way so as to answer the readers' questions to a certain degree.

...The flight was delayed. The apologetic voice of the controller could be heard through the air terminus loudspeakers: "The takeoff has been postponed for 2 hours because of thick fog in Moscow." This was not the first postponement. Many passengers had been languishing at the airport for more than 24 hours, and no one believed that in 2 hours the aircraft would take off and set off on its journey.

I thought: What about "Buran?" There are no limitations for it where the weather is concerned. And after flying for many thousands of km above the clouds, in space, it returns to a given landing "point." The run along the concrete runway begins and ends perfectly. Next to the welcoming party. But what if there is some sudden failure, a drastic change in the weather, and the shuttle changes its approach course to this same runway and accomplishes everything planned, only from a different direction? In the rain, in the fog, in the middle of the night. Fantasy? No. Reality! If only Aeroflot aircraft were equipped with such clever automated systems....

Actually, is this really the only marvelous thing about space technology? It proves that it is not just anywhere but here in our very own country that construction materials are created which can work reliably in conditions of extremely low or very high temperatures. We have at our disposal our own Soviet-produced durable [mnogoresursnyye] units and appliances, highly sensitive miniature instruments, the most powerful engine equipment, solar energy, and the most precise navigation systems...the list could be endless. Behind all this, among other things, are the technologies which have been mastered. It is not enough to call them modern, they are mostly unique, if we are talking about the precision, cleanliness, and quality of the goods produced. If only all this could be introduced into the national economy!

How much design talent has been invested in this work, how many scientific thoughts and ideas have been concentrated in it! What high professional skill has been required of those performing at the machine tools and production units—technologists, laboratory workers, programmers, analysts, workers! And how much of our national pride lies behind all this space activity!

If we are going to be absolutely objective, it should be recognized (because the whole world recognizes this) that in all these years the space industry has proceeded along nontraditional lines, established principally new technical solutions, and utilized only Soviet-produced equipment and materials.

"How much expenditure—simply money—went into creating 'Energiya' and 'Buran?'" Those accustomed to measuring everything only in rubles will ask this. A great deal! And no one is concealing this. It is silly to conceal it. Billions. If the expenses for the entire space era are added together, then it is many tens of billions, which to some degree, it is true, have lost their true cost in rubles. And the return? In rubles again? It is also great. Great, but it could be more. And this is also an undoubted fact. Undoubted and unfortunate. We should know how to count our money.

But I cannot fail to say something else. Clear-cut adherence to the customary categories, including matters concerning science and technology, sometimes distinguishes our attitude toward the world. The Tokamak proton synchrotron, a device for searching for "charmed" particles, a new space craft, and a super computer.... "Probably something important in keeping with the times," some people say with a shrug. And because official information on expenditure is scanty, "unofficial" information fills the vacuum. And immediately a certain psychological irritation disturbs the consciousness, forces out logic, and produces a vexing sense of personal frustration. Judgments become harsher: "They are complicating matters, they are throwing money away, they are not looking after the people's money." And one hears the alarmed call: "Down with outer space!"

I am not going to argue: We each have enough worries. Both our own and other people's. Both high-flown ones, so to speak, and earthly, everyday ones. Today's worries and future ones.

That is all so....

Incidentally, about the Americans. They are a practical, businesslike people who can count money and they not only live for the present but also predict their future. I know this from my own experience. I have been in that country three times and have become acquainted with its scientific institutes, the work of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration [NASA], and the space centers. I have heard flattering opinions about our space technology from most authoritative scientists. They are not compliments but specialists' opinions.

"The long-term 'Salyut' and 'Mir' orbital stations have enabled the Russians to find the best way to combine basic and applied research...."

" 'Energiya' has 10 times more power than any Soviet vehicle, and four times more capacity than the U.S. reusable 'Shuttle' craft...."

"Achievements in the sphere of software and comprehensive utilization of sophisticated automated systems have enabled the Russians to resolve brilliantly a most difficult task—to implement the automated launch and return to a given point on earth of the reusable 'Buran' craft...."

These are not my words. It is "they" who are talking and writing about this. But I am not going to simplify the problem.

For many years space science and technology in our country have been closed to the public to a significant degree. In my view, this can be explained quite simply: The space industry emerged and developed on a defense basis. And those matters connected with the fatherland's defense are naturally not to be publicized widely. And the "cold war" years, nuclear blackmail, and the threat of a "hot conflict" also forced us to be reticent.

The secrecy also gave rise to certain mythical notions about our fundamental science, including space science. Many people think that we are unstinting in spending money on these spheres and we get no return. Is that so?

Figures are the best argument. So: Our expenditure on fundamental research (it is fundamental science which is the source of new knowledge and of the discovery of new phenomena and principles which bring about revolutionary transformations in society's economic and social life) is approximately 40 times less than in advanced capitalist countries. Concerning prestige, it is important here to explain the following point. Scientific development is not a linear process. It consists of alternating intermittent revolutionary changes. There can be no eternal leaders: neither in physics, nor in biology, nor in cosmonautics.

I hope one more "Faraday-type" digression will not seem strange. What would happen today if (let us suppose) we were suddenly deprived of electricity? If there is no current—that means that there are no lights, no assembly lines, cybernetic machinery is "resting," automated systems are "on strike," electric pumps, which send water to our homes, do not work, food stocks are spoiled as the refrigerators fail to "maintain" the necessary temperature. There are no communications—television screens are not working, trolley buses and electric trains stand idle.

But what if we hypothesized another situation? For example, there are no communications satellites or other form of space technology. People would be deprived of such important elements in their lives as long-range communications, meteorology, navigation, geodesy, geology, accounting of reservoirs and sown areas, cartography, environmental monitoring.... All this is taken not in a broad sense, but taking account of economic expediency. Unfortunately, it is difficult to cite complete figures here, for the economic result received from automated apparatus and manned systems working in orbit is scattered around many ministries and departments. But such figures do exist.

A few examples by way of illustration. Let us take satellite navigation means. Their utilization on large-capacity ships makes it possible to save from R80,000 to R100,000 per annum. Now more than 3,000 of our ships with a tonnage of 100 registered tonnes and over are equipped with satellite navigation instruments. Environmental monitoring from outer space provides a revenue of R12-17 for every ruble spent. Precise weather forecasting for 5 days in advance is capable (if people are active and not sluggish) of saving agriculture R5-6 billion. Production in orbit of new materials with set characteristics (crystals, alloys, compounds, medicinal preparations, extremely pure materials and so on) are capable of producing a profit of R5-50 billion in the next 5 years. One photograph from outer space covers 200 square km of the earth's surface (one exposure covers the whole area of the Azov Sea.) Yet before the last quarter of our century only 13 percent of the territories of our planet's continents were photographed on a scale 1:25000 or larger. And what about the commercial activity of the Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology! If we are going to refer to the Americans, I shall say: Some 3-4 times more money is assigned for space research within the NASA framework than in our country.

And one more thing. Do we have the right to reproach the inventor simply because his creation—necessary and useful, promising great economic results for everyone—is not being broadly introduced into our life? Not by him but by others? Are things getting nowhere here because of bureacracy which is still alive and kicking? I would like to stress that our self-awareness is increasing in the reasonable and strict approach to everything that is now being done in the country. We must all think about the place of cosmonautics in the statewide system, have an active life stance regarding everything that concerns scientific and technical progress, and pay strict attention to the needs of life itself.

There cannot be two opinions about the fact that today, as never before, we need ideas—scientific, engineering, design, and technological ones—about technical policy in space. But this must not be wholesale criticism (incidentally, the space era is a little more than 30 years old), but profound interest in strengthening ties between space science and technology and production on earth. Interest in stepping up the pace of the introduction into earthly affairs of everything that cosmonautics gives and can give us. Space precision and space reliability must be the standard for many of earth's instruments, appliances, and systems. But not of themselves—but with our participation.

The intellectual power of "space" plants, scientific research institutes, and design bureaus promises the most enormous gains if it is reasonably and fully utilized. I repeat the main point: It is not one particular person's concern, but our common concern. The state's concern!

As for "Buran," it must fly.

Openness Concerning Space Costs, Benefits Urged

LD1204192989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 89

[Text] A solemn soiree devoted to the Day of Cosmonautics was held in Moscow today. Academician Mikhail Fedorovich Reshetnev, hero of socialist labor, spoke at the soiree about the latest achievements of Soviet cosmonautics and its problems. He said, among other things:

[Begin recording] The "Energiya-Buran" reusable space transportation system has been developed on the basis of the latest achievements in our rocket construction and cosmonautics thanks to the work of numerous research and academic institutes, design and production organizations, and enterprises. It opens broad opportunities for conducting, at a qualitatively new level, both applied and fundamental space studies. Of course, this system has cost our country dearly. That is why it is important now to organize the speediest implementation of the new developments, materials, technical solutions, and technologies used in the "Energiya-Buran" system in the national economy in order to make up for the expenses entailed by its development.

The U.S. experience is instructive on this issue. It has been reported in the press, for instance, that the United States spent $24 billion on the lunar program while its industry had earned about $300 billion from space patents. By using the media, they managed to show the best side of their commodity and to suggest to their partners how and when to use profitably the technical advances developed during the implementation of the lunar program. Even at the viewing areas of launch pads, paid seats for spectators were ensured over there. But in our country everything is totally different. It is not the case that cosmonautics does not want, or is unable, to justify the funds allocated to it. Our main misfortune is our inability to earn profits. And this, regrettably, is characteristic not only of cosmonautics but also of a number of other branches of the national economy.

Pronouncements have been voiced of late which question the expediency of developing many space projects at the current stage of restructuring when the country is solving great problems, such as ecological, food, housing and others, which require huge material expenses. I think that such pronouncements are caused by insufficient information available to our public about the ways cosmonautics have been developing, its priorities, and about the potential of its achievement for the national economy.

This can be explained, to a considerable degree, by the fact that space science and technology have been created on the basis of advances in defense industries and rocket technology, which, naturally, were classified. This can be explained but cannot be justified. People want to know how and for what national funds are being spent and what results it yields. I am sure that if they had been told that in 1988 the economic effect of applied branches of cosmonautics had exceeded the total annual spending on cosmonautics by a third approximately, there would have been considerably fewer pronouncements of that kind. Cosmonautics is now approaching self-recouping. [end recording]

Military

Officer Highlights Housing Problems of Veterans

PM1204152789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 89 First Edition p 1

[Reader's letter, followed by editorial comment under the rubric "Readers' Criticism, Thoughts, Suggestions": "Is My Story Going To Be Repeated?"]

[Text] In connection with the reduction of our Armed Forces—a process that has now begun—I am particularly concerned about the matter of the provision of housing for discharged soldiers, in view of the fact that housing is perhaps the most acute issue in the country today. What a problem it is I know from my own experience.

Of course, in my early years as an officer I did not give a thought to where I would live in the future. But about 3 years before my discharge I started making inquiries. And suddenly I discovered that there was no going back home for Muscovite officers.

I learned of other cases where fellow Muscovites had not been able to return to their home city. And their "crime" was that at the time of discharge they were not serving in groups of forces, in the Far East, in areas of the far north, or in closed military installations.

But I think I was to some extent fortunate. In our regiment we were told that officers, warrant officers, and ensigns can join housing construction cooperatives in the city of their choice, except for Moscow, Moscow Oblast, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, and resort cities. But, apparently, servicemen can join housing construction cooperatives in those cities if they have that right in accordance with existing legislation. That is, they have the right to register there.

It took me a whole year to demonstrate the obvious, because some of our laws, resolutions, and instructions are imperfect and contradictory, and in some cases simply obsolete.

A housing construction cooperative eventually accepted my family and me. But when we got an apartment another obstacle arose, an administrative one this time. Apparently, the one stamp in my personal file showing that I had been drafted into active military service by the Frunzenskiy (now Leninskiy) Rayon Military Commissariat in Moscow was not enough to send my file to the capital. "You need a number of important documents," they told me at the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany Air Force headquarters. "What are they?" I asked. "Who knows," they replied....

I was in the process of being discharged for around 3 months. Who knows how long this would have gone on had I not brought payment instruction bearing an official seal and stating that I was the possessor of a cooperative apartment in Moscow. Three days later I was discharged. You can imagine how many problems this caused for the regulars. In fact, another officer had arrived long before to take over my post.

The years have gone by. But in that time, as far as I can see, practically nothing has changed. That is the worrying thing: Is my story going to be repeated today?

[Signed] Reserve Major V. Trifonov

From the editorial office: Before publishing this letter we contacted the USSR Defense Ministry Main Cadre Directorate and other authorities. We were told that there have not been any changes in the existing rules so far, but they will be reviewed very soon for generals, admirals, officers, warrant officers, and ensigns who are to be discharged into the reserve.